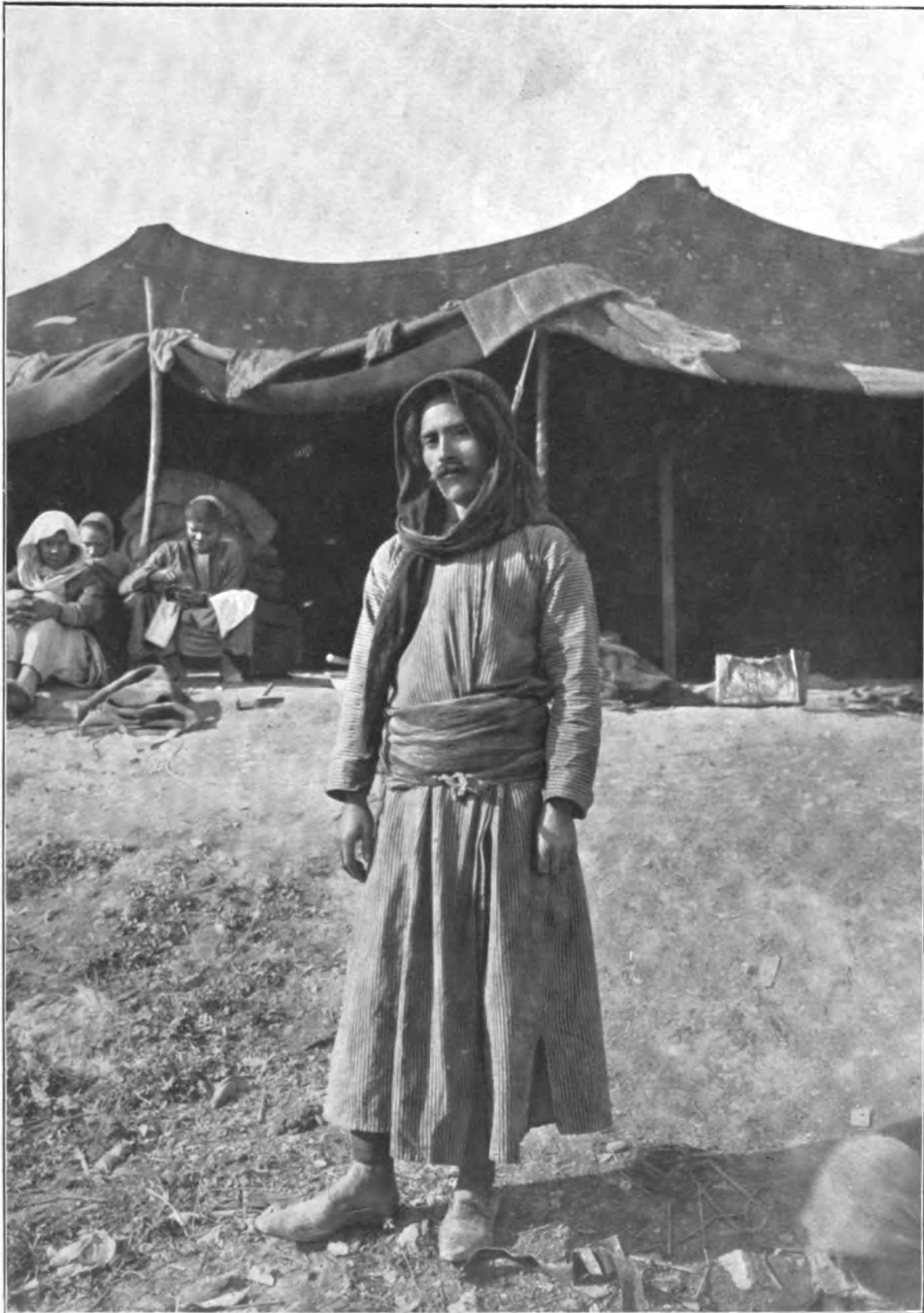


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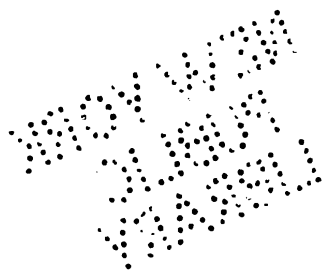
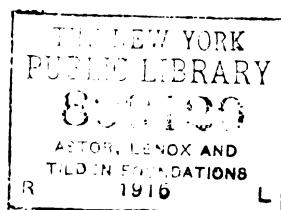
NEW SERIES

VOLUME VII

(1913—1914)



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- [148] Berlin, Germany, Anthropologische Gesellschaft, Königgrätzerstrasse 120.
- [18] Berlin, Germany, Königliche Bibliothek, Behrenstrasse 40, W. 64.
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INDIVIDUALS

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- [11] Pennell, Mrs. Elizabeth Robins, 3 Adelphi Terrace House, Robert Street, Strand, London, W.C.
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- [280] Ranking, Colonel G. S. A., Beech Lawn, Park Town, Oxford.
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- [107] Robertson, Donald Struan, Trinity College, Cambridge.
- [309] Russell, The Right Honble. the Countess, Telegraph House, Chichester.
- [126] Russell, Alexander, M.A., Dundas Street, Stromness, Orkney.
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- [264] Scott, Charles Payson Gurley, 49 Arthur Street, Yonkers, New York, U.S.A.
- [253] Shaw, Fred., 7 Macdonald Road, Friern Barnet, London, N.
- [325] Sidebotham, Henry, Wood View, 27 Robin Lane, Pudsey, near Leeds.
- [128] Slade, C. F., 6 Ashwood Terrace, Headingley, Leeds.
- [122] Slade, Edgar A., 'Dodpitts,' near Yarmouth, Isle of Wight.
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- [199] Symons, Arthur, Island Cottage, Wittersham, Kent.
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- [258] Thompson, Thomas William, M.A., Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School, Gainsborough, Lincolnshire.
- [9] Valentine, Milward, 9 Mannering Road, Sefton Park, Liverpool.
- [142] Wackernagel, Professor Jacob, Ph.D., Hoher Weg 12, Göttingen, Germany.

- [271] Wall, Mrs. James, 2 Thurloe Street, Rusholme, Manchester.
- [301] Wear, John, Felton Mills, Felton, R.S.O., Northumberland.
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- [117] Yates, Miss Dora Esther, M.A., 9 Belvidere Road, Princes Park, Liverpool.

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Note.—The List of Members has been brought up to date of publication in order to avoid the confusion that would have resulted from printing the List for the year ending June 30, 1914.

ACCOUNTS

FOR YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1914

INCOME

4 subscriptions for the year 1911-12, .	£4	0	0	
10 " " " 1912-13, .	10	0	0	
144 " " " 1913-14, .	144	0	0	
23 " " " 1914-15, .	23	0	0	
				£181 0 0
Copies and parts of Volume I. sold to Members, £3	7	6		
" " Volume II. " "	6	0	0	
" " Volume III. " "	3	0	0	
" " Volume IV. " "	4	8	0	
" " Volume V. " "	7	18	0	
" " Volume VI. " "	8	3	0	
				32 16 6
Donation from A. Constable, .				0 7 6
Balance Expenditure over Income, .				152 5 11
				<u>£366 9 11</u>

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Discounts for the year 1913-14, .	£1	1	4	
" " " 1914-15, .	0	8	0	
				£1 9 4
Management and Correspondence—				
Stationery, .	£16	12	6	
Printed Notices, .	0	15	0	
Postages, .	6	4	8	
Auditor's Fee, .	0	10	6	
				24 2 8
Carry forward, .				<u>£25 12 0</u>
c				xvii

NOTE.—The Society owns the following property :

Stock of Journals unsold.

Stock of Monographs unsold.

(These have not been valued.)

Subscriptions in arrears, . . . £61 0 0

ERRATA

- Page 77, heading of Note 6, for Schleswig read Silesia.
- „ 156, line 1 of footnote, for Patersen read Petersen.
- „ 180, under *ka*, to, at. Insert full stop after at : and for *Zalo* read *Žalo*.
- „ 189, line 1, for *Zukel* read *Žukel*.
- „ 189, under *mášina* add cf. Rum. *macina*, to rub.
- „ 190, line 10, for *Zulia* read *Žulia*.
- „ 196, under *piškiri*. Delete all after towel, and read Turkish *peşkir*, used in Serbian and Bulgarian.
- „ 198, line 15, for *Kō* read *Kš*.
- „ 199, line 17, for *child* read child.
- „ 200, line 8 from foot, for *mur-* read *murav-*.
- „ 207, under *tjid-* add Mik., vii. 55 *ged*.
- „ 262, footnote 2, for *tulink* read *tulunk*.
- „ 266, footnote 4. Put all the examples except the first under footnote 1.
- „ 266, line 19, after *savořó* add cf. Colocci : *tchöuru*, under impoverire, and *söüru* perfetto, probably for *sžufü*.
- „ 267, line 20, delete cf. Colocci . . . *sžufü*.
- „ 269, line 14, for *tátjilé* read *tátjile*.
- „ 269, line 26, for *sokakj* read *sokákji*.
- „ 270, line 30, for *pharadí* read *phařadi*.
- „ 272, line 20, for *kořednií* read *koředini*.
- „ 276, line 1, for *phirázěa* read *phirázěä*.
- „ 276, line 7, for *bilajä* read *bilájä*.
- „ 279, line 24, for *dsavzjarav* read *dišavzjaráv*.
- „ 282, line 14, for *sastiji* read *sastjít*.
- „ 282, sentence 5, for *chas* read *čhas*, and for *chitjas* read *čhitjas*. Sentence 7, for *pai* read *pāi*.
- „ 289, sentence 85, for *Sutalanu* read *Šutalanu*.
- „ 290, sentence 102, for *Zar-ta* read *Žar-ta*.
- „ 293, line 18, for *Za* read *Ža*.

JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

NEW SERIES

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No. 1

I.—TWO PORTRAITS

By ARTHUR SYMONS

GYPSY JANE

ONE October evening, a little before seven, I had stopped on my way to Gatti's to turn over some books outside one of the shops. As I picked up a little book of verse rather nicely bound I heard some one speaking to me, and looking down I saw the quaintest little old woman standing by my side. She had the bonnet and cloak of a grandmotherly old fairy in picture books, an incredibly old-fashioned bonnet and cloak, very blue and red, and she held a stick in her hand. She was leaning on her stick and looking up into my face, and when I turned she repeated her question. Did I know some lawyer? I have forgotten his name, and I certainly did not know it. I said so, and turned to my book, which proved to be as bad as I had expected from the binding. But I found the old lady was still talking, and I said 'Yes' or 'No' where I thought it was demanded, not quite noticing what she was saying. Presently she said, 'Pardon me sir, but—do you

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A

write?' I said I did. 'Are you a novelist or a poet?' said the persistent old person. I told her that I wrote verses. 'Do you really, now?' said she, admiringly; 'do you really?' In a few minutes, I don't quite know how, she was telling me about herself. 'I was an actress,' she said proudly; and at that I began to be interested. 'They called me Gypsy Jane,' she went on; and then I put down my book and turned to her, saying excitedly, 'Are you a Gypsy?' 'That I am,' said she; 'my father was a real Romany—one of the Stanleys (I am not giving the name she told me, but a name equally plentiful among the Gypsies);¹ my mother was a Gorgio.'

While we spoke the boy was clearing away the books from the shop-window, and we moved a few steps to be out of his way as he brought out the shutters and began to put them up. My interest in the Gypsies ever since I read *Lavengro* has amounted to a passion; so I told the old woman how fond I was of her people, and ventured upon a few words of Romany. She replied in her own language with a volubility which soon left me far behind, and I suggested that we had better talk English. Of course she, too, was much excited. 'Do you really love the Gypsies, now; do you really?' she said to me over and over again. I assured her that I did and began to question her about herself. She told me many strange things as we moved slowly, very slowly, along the street; she was rheumatic and dragged one leg as she leaned upon her stick. Whether all that she told me was true I cannot say, but it had a singular air of truth. She said she was the wife of F. Scarlett Potter—a man whose writings were once frequently seen in the lighter magazines; one can scarcely call him a man of letters, but so he would speak of himself, no doubt. 'I have not seen him for twenty-three years,' she said; 'and I don't want ever to see him again. He married me for my beauty (for I was beautiful once, though you may not think it), and when I lost that he got tired of me and went to live with another woman.' I looked at her attentively, and it was easy to see that she had once been very pretty. Her face would have been still regular but for a scar which disfigured one cheek, and her pale blue eyes were clear and full of charm. It was the scar that had ruined her life. She was in that collision, so she said, in which Charles Dickens had so

¹ Jane also is a pseudonym. Her real name was Agnes Lee (Vansittart), and she had acted at the Lyceum, Adelphi, and Covent Garden theatres, under the name of Gypsy Lee. Her husband's real name was Palgrave Simpson.

narrow an escape; she too had escaped, but so disfigured that her husband had left her and she had been obliged to leave the stage. She told me of the actors with whom she had played, of how she had acted at the Lyceum and the Adelphi and sung at Covent Garden; then how she had lived and struggled, and finally, conquered by London, which she had left her caravans to conquer, she had gone back to the caravans. I got her story out of her bit by bit, for she insisted on talking to me about myself in an embarrassingly flattering way. Of course she was a little crazy, but she had no ulterior motive in her compliments, and her way of pausing to look up adoringly into my face was not, I think, a trick learned from the boards. It was decidedly uncomfortable, so I suggested something to drink. I piloted her across the road with immense difficulty, for her rheumatism had made her very stiff, and we went into a bar. She said it should be Scotch, and hot. Apropos of something she quoted 'The Lord of Burleigh.' She said she had met Thackeray and known Dickens. She begged me to read a certain novel by Anthony Trollope, 'for there's a gentleman in it just like you, who speaks to a poor woman in the street.' I did not promise, and I have not read the novel.

As we stood in the bar we heard the bells of St. Mary-le-Strand. She listened, and old recollections seemed to come up in her brain. She told me of how she had heard those bells long ago, and she begged me to be good. 'We say in our language that Jesus hates the Romany, but I don't believe it.' 'Never love a Romany, dear,' she said; 'be good to the poor Gypsies, raise them, get them justice, but don't ever love a Romany. You're a gentleman, and you would never marry her—you would leave her, you would break her heart. But you won't, will you? you won't? You will be good, for my sake?' That was an agreement I could by no means enter into, and I waived the question. Then, '*have* you ever loved a Gypsy?' said she.

Presently she quoted 'Maud,' and she asked me if I had ever published a volume of poems. 'Now, did you really?' she said again, in her admiring tones. Then she gave me a solemn Gypsy blessing over her whisky—'God bless the ground your feet tread upon, the sun that shines upon you next morning,' and so forth—touching my breast with the glass while she spoke; and I promised to go and see her in Epping Forest, where she lives with her tribe; and she is to give me a cup of tea and tell me all I care to hear about her history, and introduce me to her brother's wife Antonia,

who is an Italian, and take me to see the place where her sister Patience was frozen to death. I have not been yet, but I am going.

1892.

GYPSY LEE

I have been to see old Mrs. Lee, the famous Gypsy fortune-teller of the Devil's Dyke. She has come down for the last two years to the hop-picking, with her caravan and some of her forty-three grandchildren. Daisy was there, carrying her sister's baby; a fine dark girl with straight eyebrows and honest eyes, her black hair coiled in plaits hanging loose from her head. Britannia, the blonde-haired sister with blue eyes and fair cheeks, was with her. Both were pretty, but the dark one had more of the Gypsy character; a look of hearty and friendly honesty in her frank eyes and laughing teeth. The old woman said she was seventy-nine, and had never slept under a roof but the roof of her caravan. She couldn't do it, and she fidgeted uneasily at the very thought. She was tiny, brown, and wrinkled, with hair that still curled softly over a low forehead, under which stealthy and meditative eyes shrank and emerged. The eyes were old, but had never used glasses, she said, to thread a needle; and they would be cast down demurely, she would shoot sideways without raising the lids, and had in them a keen and hypocritic softness. She had rings of plain gold on every finger, covering the lower joints; and when she is dressed in her best she wears long gold and coral earrings, and an orange shawl over her head. We are very strict, she said of the Gypsies, when we spoke of marriage; we never marry among relations. Gypsies live long, she said; we don't live in houses where there are drains, we don't get fevers. She had met Sampson, and said he spoke Romany well, and was a fine man. [Here I omit.] She did not see why they should let their language be known; there were times when you want to say something that others don't understand. She knew Sinfi Boswell (she was a Boswell and married a Lovell). She pronounced the name Sin-fai with an equal accent on each syllable. She spoke in a low and gentle voice, with queer laughs. And she knew, in English, only the simple, good words; she had never learnt all those words that we are trying to forget. She said she seemed to have spent her whole time in bearing children. There are some that must, she said.

1906.

II.—EARLY BRITISH GYPSIES

By ERIC OTTO WINSTEDT

TWO of our late presidents—Crofton in his *Early Annals of the Gypsies in England*, and MacRitchie in his *Scottish Gypsies under the Stewarts*—have set a laudable example by searching the published volumes of State Papers for references to Gypsies. But Crofton's first paper was written before many volumes had appeared, and since MacRitchie wrote many more Scottish volumes have been issued. Consequently, as Mr. Wellstood pointed out to me some years ago, there are a fair number of interesting records which have not as yet been brought to the notice of the Society. As he has been unable to work through the volumes himself, I have undertaken the task, and collected, I hope, all the remaining references both in the English and the Scottish series. There seemed no good reason for separating the two, as the early ones at any rate probably treat of the same Gypsies; indeed there is proof that this is the case in the presence of Faas in England in two of the documents. The texts have been printed in full; and little preface is needed, as they speak for themselves. They give a glimpse of Gypsy life, when the Gypsies still travelled far and wide in large bands. As many as one hundred and forty, under the leadership of a Faa and a Meche, are recorded in Staffordshire in 1539; eighty in Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, and Oxfordshire in 1576, with a passport forged by a Cheshire schoolmaster;¹ and the same number in Northamptonshire in 1596; though in all cases the bands seem to have been scattered about in smaller companies. Their leaders do not claim the fantastic titles applied to them in many early records. There is only one 'knight of Little Egypt' recorded here, and he is merely referred to as mentioned in a document produced by one of the Faas when arrested. His name—John Nany—is rather interesting, as it reminds one strangely of John Nano, the Indian of the otherwise unknown tribe Rom, whom Leland found in London.²

¹ MacRitchie (*Scottish Gypsies under the Stewarts*, p. 117) records that in 1715 a Gypsy was accused of having forged and used a pass, and he suspects Scottish Gypsies of making spurious begging-tokens (p. 72 f.n.) and even of counterfeiting the Great Seal (p. 70), a crime for which some Fawes in England were arrested in 1549 (p. 41 f.n. and *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 12). These instances suggest caution in accepting the claims which earlier Gypsies made to the possession of passports and licences from persons more eminent even than the King of Scotland.

² Leland, *The Gypsies*, p. 337.

These big bands of wanderers were obviously people of some substance. On one occasion they offer as much as £300—a sum that would probably be equivalent to some £3000 in these days—as ransom for two of their leaders who were condemned to death; and it is not a little amusing to see the avidity with which the Privy Council and the King jump at the offer, admitting that the money would be hard to obtain otherwise, and trying to salve their consciences by talking grandiloquently, though inconsequentially, of the good example they were making to other rogues by taking a bribe instead of carrying out an execution.

For the rest the Gypsies seem to have led a pretty lawless life, though often, especially in Scotland, harboured and supported by landed gentry. Yet in Scotland they were more aggressive and pugnacious than in England. The Shaws and the Faas, who a hundred years later sided together against the Browns and the Baillies at the battle of Romanno,¹ disturbed the peace of Dunbar by a pitched battle in 1675; and earlier than that one finds naïve complaints from the authorities that the stiff-necked rogues would not submit to being tamely shipped off to foreign wars and gathered together in armed troops, and resisted attempts at enlistment. Some of them even fled to Ireland to escape service—an interesting piece of news, as it may account for the tradition among some Gypsy families at a later date that they came from Ireland.²

Two other points of interest are perhaps worth special notice. Some doubt is thrown on what MacRitchie regards as the first certain mention of Gypsies in Scotland, the tradition about George Home of Wedderburn in 1470,³ as a namesake and descendant of his is found 'resetting' Gypsies at a very much later date, and tradition may well have confused the two, though it must be admitted that it was no uncommon thing for certain noble Scottish families to hand down an interest in some Gypsy clans from generation to generation. The second point is that the very Earl of Cassilis whose wife is generally held to be the heroine of the celebrated ballad appears appealing to the Privy Council to know what to do with some Gypsies he has arrested on his domain. But unfortunately the reference throws no light on the ballad.

Gypsy names are not very plentiful in these records, and those which occur do not add much to our previous knowledge. The

¹ MacRitchie, *Scottish Gypsies under the Stewarts*, p. 108.

² MacRitchie, p. 109 (The Browns and Baillies). Wester Boswell thought the Smiths came from Ireland.

³ MacRitchie, pp. 26-7.

Faas appear in England: Nany, Bastian, and Meche seem to be additions to our slender stock of early Gypsy names in England; but Bannister, Cazar, and Gabriell were already attested. In Scotland Faas as usual are plentiful, and Shaws and Browns not uncommon. A Young, a Gray—a rare name in Scotland—and a Robertson appear in 1671; and a Baird as early as 1664, for the earliest reference to this name. But Abercrombie, Crumley, Duncan, Leith, and Macpherson are names which are new to me.

Letters and papers foreign and domestic of the reign of Henry VIII. . . . arranged by James Gairdner.

Vol. v. p. 23. Among a list of Acts passed 16 Jan. 1531 is mentioned one concerning 'Egyptians.'

Vol. viii. p. 420. 1535, July 20. An enclosure in a letter of Sir F. Bigode to Cromwell about a monk he had examined concerning an 'idol and blood supper of Rome' states that:—'Dan George Laysynghby, monk of Jorovaxe [=Jervaux], lyhying in is bedde shleppyng, thouht that it was in the chyrche, and he thouht women lyke Egygepetces appered to hym, among whome one greeter than the eoder, the whych appered with one of hyr papkes rede, and the wyssayge of howre Lady aponne hyr breste; the whyche wyssayge comforted hym myche; the whych he toke for Sanct Anne, for a grett ymmayge of Sanct Anne doht stande in the closyd there as he sayde masse, and as he thouht they inquiride for th' abbott. The whych wyssyon a good fader of relygion sayde it was a tokyng that puere Jesus dyde vysted is servauntes.'

Vol. xii. pt. 2, p. 81 (no. 191) 23. 'Paul Fa, a native of Egypt in parts beyond sea, gentleman. Pardon for the murder of an Egyptian called Sacole Femine ('cujusdam Egipciani voc' Sacole Femine) within this realm. Hampton Court, 16 June 29 Henry viii. [1537]. *Del. Westm.* 17 June.—P. S.'

Ib., 24. 'Paul Fa, "nat." and his wandering associates called Egyptians. License to leave the realm, and injunction to do so within 15 days under pain of imprisonment on a capital charge for certain offences committed by them. Hampton Court, 16 June 29 Hen. viii. *Del. Westm.*, 18 June.—P. S.'

This is the earliest recorded mention of the Faas. For the surname Femine compare the next record. The Christian name Secole sounds very like Ségul or Ségüli, the name of a daughter of Lementina Buckland and Fred Sandford, though

the latter is said to be 'seagull.' It may be nothing more than a coincidence that a similar name exists in France as a Gypsy surname, viz. *Secula*. See *Daily Mail*, 24 Sept. 1912. *Secole* is also an English *gájo* surname.

Ib., p. 353 (no. 1008) 23. 'Egyptians.—Commission to all justices, mayors, sheriffs, &c. to apprehend certain "Egipcians" for having robbed one Martyne Femyne, the King's servant (who, with his wife and servants were wounded and their lives endangered by the said Egyptians, whose names are contained in letters in the possession of the said Martyne), to commit the said Egyptians to prison until they make full restitution to the said Martyne of his goods or the value thereof, and afterwards to compel them to depart out of the realm. *Del. Westm.*, 18 Oct. 29 Hen. VIII.—S. B.'

One would have assumed this Martyne Femine to be a *gájo*, if he did not reappear some two years later among the rebels against Johnne Faw in Scotland (MacRitchie, pp. 37-43). Possibly he had already quarrelled with the Faas and was trying to pass himself off for a *gájo*. He may, however, have been a *gájo*, who was only 'consorting with' the Gypsies, since the many laws against that practice prove that it did exist.

Vol. xiv. pt. 1, pp. 84-5 (no. 204). 1539, Feb. 2. John Vernon (Sheriff of Staffordshire) to Cromwell. 'This Candlemas day, George Fae and Michael Meche, "two Egyptians as they say," came to his house, and according to the late statutes he examined them for being within the King's realm; who showed no other writings than those in the box, sent by his servant, the bearer, "whereof one of them is made by the mayor of London as they say, another by James the king of Scotts; a letter to our sovereign lord the King's high majesty, sealed; a letter to the lord President and Mr. Justice, sealed; another letter to Sir Richard Bukkeley, knight, sealed; a letter or testimonial made by George Darcy, knight, then sheriff of York (Yorkshire); another letter made by Walter Welshe, then sheriff of Worcester; one bill indented; one bill made by the abbot of Halyrudhous; three other bills; and five bills pricked with one pin; and a testimonial made in parchment, supposed to be made by the commissioners in the marches of Wales." As he knows not what, prejudicial to the King and realm, may be in the sealed letters, he keeps the men in ward. As he hears they have 20 persons in their company, and his officers say there are in Staffordshire seven score more who "have robbed and spoiled," he desires to know how to act. Harlaston, Candlemas day, at night.'

A footnote states that Sir G. Darcy was Sheriff in 1535-6, and Walter Walshe from Nov. 1535 to March 1538. A George Faw, 'Erle George, callit of Egypt,'

appears in Scotland in 1539 and 1540, when he was banished from the realm,' MacRitchie (p. 34) notes that this is the first certain mention of the name Fa in Scotland; but the Fas must have been there earlier, as this band had letters from James and the Abbot of Holyrood.

Can Meche, which is a new Gypsy name, be Matcho, a Heron? If so, this would be the earliest mention of that clan. Or, if the final *e* is not to be pronounced, can it be for *minč*, the *n* being dropped as in Rumanian Romani?¹

Vol. xiv. pt. 2, p. 21 (no. 74). Aug. 22, 1539. John Hales to Cromwell. 'Desires to know Cromwell's pleasure what to do with certain Egyptians whom he apprehended on Wednesday last in Romney Marsh, and who have shown him a patent of the King under his Great Seal, dated . . . July, 26 Henry VIII., in behalf of John Nany, knight, of little Egypt, and his company. Wrote to the Master of the Rolls on the subject, from whom he received an answer this morning, advising him to refer it to Cromwell. Canterbury, 22 Aug.' (Enclosing mutilated copy of the patent, in the same hand.)

Ib., p. 109 (no. 287). Oct. 5, 1539. Cromwell's remembrances. . . . '4. To advertise of the sayings of the Egyptians, and special letters to be written for their apprehension and punishment.'

Ib., p. 150 (no. 425). do. 'The dispatch of the Egyptians.'

Ib., p. 175 (no. 494). do. [10 Nov.] 1539. 'For the Egiptyons, and what shall be done with them . . . To send a commission for the Egiptyons in the West.'

Ib., p. 315 (no. 781). The King's payments, 1539 (Household expenses). f. 97. 'Wm. Arden, John Stokes, and Laur. Burnell, servants to Sir. Wm. Pikeringe, "for their costs and charges sent at this time for the apprehension of certain lewd persons calling themselves Egyptians" 6l. 13s. 4d.'

Vol. xv. p. 325 (no. 696). [20 May] 1540. Nicholas Robertson to Cromwell. 'Master Paynell, bailiff of Boston, has come hither to convey up certain persons "namynge themselffes Egiptians" in prison here. On Monday in Rogation Week four Egyptians came hither from Lenn and were carried up to London by the Undermarshal of the Marshalsea. The rest of the company were shipped in Boston and landed in Norway. On the arrival of these persons at Boston the constables set them in the stocks and searched them, but they had nothing except a horse not worth 4s. They said that when let out of the Marshalsea and commanded to depart the realm, they came hither to get shipping. The

¹ Cf. Fletcher's *Beggars' Bush*, act ii. scene 1, 'Her name is mi-mi-mi-mi-Minche, so was her mo-mo-mo-mother's too too,' and the note thereon in the *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 59.

constables have sent them on to Hull and Newcastle. Boston, Thursday in Whitsun Week.'

Vol. xviii. pt. 1, p. 106 (no. 190). Privy Council, Westm., 21 Feb. 1543. . . . 'Letter . . . to Paullett and Norton to avoid the country of certain vagabonds "going up and down in the name of Egyptians."'

Ib., p. 217 (no. 372). Privy Council, 6 April, 1543. 'Passport stamped for 24 Egyptians, with their families, to depart the realm.'

Ib., p. 305 (no. 515). Privy Council. 9 May, 1543. 'Letters sent to two yeomen of the Guard dwelling about Walden to send certain Egyptians over sea.'

Vol. xix. pt. 2, pp. 112-3 (nos. 206-7). Sept. 9, 1544. Wriothesley to the Council with the Queen. . . .

'P.S.—"I require your Lordships to despatch the letter this night for the Egyptians, and also th' other to the Council of Calays for the ridding of them out of the King's Majesty's pale there."'

Ib. (no. 207). The Council with the Queen to the Council with the King. . . . 'Lewd persons naming themselves Egyptians, who have long wandered in this realm, were lately apprehended for robberies about Huntingdon, and I, the Lord Chancellor, sent commission to the lord Chief Justice and others for the arraigning of such of them as could be proved felons, and also wrote that some of them who were reported to be Englishmen "should be well whipped like vagabonds and so remitted to their countries" and the rest sent to London to be conveyed out of the realm. Thereupon two of them were arraigned and found guilty of felony. Offer of 300*l.* was there made for their pardon, whereupon the lord Chief Justice stayed the execution and wrote to know the Queen's pleasure. As the process seemed to be a good example and it would be hard to attain this money otherwise, two pardons were sealed, to be shown by the lord Chief Justice but not delivered until he had received the money and learnt the King's pleasure. Having this day received other letters from him showing that the money is delivered, they report the premises and beg the King to extend his pardon to the felons. "We have taken such order that all the lewd people of this sort shalbe despatched out of the realm with all diligence, and doubt not but this example will make that neither they nor any other like them will much covet hereafter to come hither."'

Ib., p. 159 (no. 302). 26 Sept. 1544. The Council with the King to the Council with the Queen. 'The Egyptians you wrote for are to be pardoned and the rest banished.'

Acts of the Privy Council of England, New Series, vol. 1 . . .
edited by J. R. Dasent (London, 1890).

Vol. i. p. 88. Westminster, Feb. 21, 1542-3. 'Letters wer written to George Paultett and Jhon Norton to avoyde the countrey off a certayne nombre off vagabondes going upp and downe in the name off Egiptians.'

Ib., p. 106. St. James, Apr. 6, 1543. 'A passeport was signed wyth the stamp for xxiiijth Egyptians wyth theyr wyfes and children to departe off the Realm wythin xxth days after the date hereoff.'

Ib., p. 128. Westminster, May 9, 1543. 'A letter was sent to twoo yeomen off the garde dwelling abowght Walden, having by vertew off a commission taken certeyne Egiptians gooddes away, to se the same therewith convayed over the sea.'

Ib. 320. At Hampton Courte, the xxijth of Januarye (1545-6). 'A pasport was signed for the Egiptiens to passe with their bagges, bagages and other necessities belonging to them, under the conducte of Philippe Cazar, their Governour, withoute impediment, &c., being apoynted at London according to my Lord Admyral's ordre taken therein to embarke at London.'

This item is mentioned by Crofton ¹ from another authority, which gives the name of the leader as Lazar. But Cazar is doubtless the correct form, as the name is so printed also in the *Letters and papers foreign and domestic*, vol. xxi. pt. 1, p. 46 (no. 103). Possibly it stands for Caesar, for which one might compare the Gypsy 'called Julius Caesar' mentioned by Philip Murray,² though that was probably a nickname.

Ib., p. 358. Grenewiche, 27 March, 1546. 'To Mr. Gressham and Mr. Wingfield at Dover that where by their order two leaders of the Egiptiens were committed to Cantourbury gaole, in case the offence were nat the greater, they shuld rather see them dismissed then that their company shuld any lenger tarry there for them, and if the offence were suche as shuld requyre the course of the lawe to be executed, they shuld cause their trayne to embarke owte of hande and be dispatched, withoute further taryeng for

¹ *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 11.

² *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 156.

their leaders emprysoned, and this under payne in the late Acte made for their avoydance conteyned.'

Ib., p. 555. Westminster, Dec. 6, 1546. 'The Knight Marshall had letters to thofficers of the Admiraltie for provision of a vessell for advoydeng of thegiptions, and other letters to the Deputes of Caleys and Boloigne for thadvoydeng of them at their arryvall in eyther place.'

These two last items are mentioned also in the *Letters and papers*, vol. xxi. pt. 1, p. 217 (no. 467), and pt. 2, p. 259 (no. 504); and in vol. ii. p. 448 (no. 775), among extracts from the Books of the Court of Augmentations 7 Nov. 1547, is recorded a payment of £20 to Sir Ralph Hopton 'for the conveyance of the Egipsions owtght of the realme.'

Vol. ii. p. 448. 1546/7, March 8. 'To the Mayor, &c., of Rochestre to sende summe convenyent personages to Dover with the ydle men called Egipcions, to be from thens depeched over, with declaracion that in cace of returne they shalbe used according to the lawe.'

Ib., p. 452. March 10. 'Letters were addressed to the Shirifes and Justices of Peax of Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Surrey, Sussex and Kent, for advoyding of Egipcions wandring there, and punishment with extremitie to be made of such as shuld offende the lawe.'

Vol. iv. p. 18. 1552, Apr. 11. 'A lettre to the Justices of Peace of the countie of ——— to take ordre that the Egipcians lately come to Donstable may be used according to the ordre of the lawe, and the countrie unburdened of them as sone as may be.'

Ib., p. 59. 1552, May 26. 'A Commission to all maiours, sherifes, bailiefes, constables and comptrollers, and all other the Kinges Majesties officers, ministres, and subjectes, aswell within the counties of Buckingham, Bedforde, Norffolke and Suffolke, as within any other his Highnes' dominions, to cause all suche idle persones as name them sellfes Egyptians to be conveyed from place to place by thofficers of every shier and towne till they shall come to the next haven or port, and thence to be without any manner delay dispatched and sent owt of the realme, not suffering them in any wyse to wander or stray abroad in the countrie in this theyr convoyaunce.'

Ib., p. 166. 1552, Nov. 11. 'A lettre to Sir Edward North, knight, to take ordre with the Justices of Peace abowt hym that those Egyptians that be there may be sent owt of the

realme with all convenient diligence, so as the Statute provided in that behalf may be executed towards them as appertaineth.'

Vol. vii. p. 112. 1562, July 8. 'A letter to Richarde Fenys, esquire, of thanks for his travell in apprehending and committeng the Egiptians passing thugh the countye of Oxon, with whom he is willed to procede according to the Statute, and for their childern (whose yeres may make declaracion that they were innocent of their parentes lewdenes) he is required, upon conference with the rest of the Justices herein, to do as they shall thinke requisite.'

Ib., p. 125. 1562, Aug. 8. 'A letter to the Sherif and Justices of Peax in the county of Oxon to procede without delaye against the vagabondes naming themselves Egiptians, taken in that countye and comitted to Oxforde Castell, and to remove the rest remaineng in Wallingforde Castell to Oxforde, so as they may receive their tryall toguither.'

Vol. viii. p. 116. 1573, June 14. 'A letter to the Justices of Assises of the Countie of Hereford that where their Lordships be advertised of certein assemblies and cumpanies of lewd persons calling them selves Egiptians in that countie, they wold trye and execute acording to lawe the principall heddes and ring-leaders for terrour and example; and, for the rest, proceade against them as rogues and send them home into their cuntreis, or use such moderacion as they shall thinke good.'

Vol. ix. pp. 304-5. 1576, March 10. 'A letter to the Lord Keper that where they are given tunderstand that there are since the last Assises in the countie of Berks apprehendid certen lewde vagabundes, men and women, namyng themselves Egiptians, wandring under colour of a counterfett licence to be graunted unto them by some of her Majesties Counsell in Yorke, as shall appere unto him by a copie of the examinacion of some of them which they send his Lordship herewith; and because the number of them wold be very chargeable unto the countrey, their Lordships have given order to the Justices there to release them all, savinge only tenne of the chefest, of whom example is to be made, and the rest to be used as apperteyneth to roges and vagabundes, geving them pasportes to repaire to the places where they were borne, and therefore have thought good to requier his Lordship, considering the Assises are past, to graunt out a Commission of Oier and Determyner to Thomas Parrie, Highe Sherif

of that countie, Thomas Cheynie and Griffin Curteis, esquiers, by whom they were apprehendid and examined.

‘A letter to the Sheriff of Chesshire that where there is of late apprehendid in the countie of Berks lxxx lewde vagabundes deceaving her Majesties subjectes under colour of a counterfett license to be graunted to them by divers of her Majesties subjectes and Counsailles (*sic*) in Yorke, and upon examinacion some of them hath confessed therefore the same to have ben counterfaited by one Massye, a scolemaster dwellinge at a parisshe within a myle of Whitchurche in that countie, he is required upon receipt of their Lordships’ letters to cause searche to be made for the said Massie, and being found, diligentlie to examyne, and if it shall appere that he be the counterfetour thereof, to commytte him, and furthwith to signifie the same unto their Lordships that further order may be taken accordingle.’

Ib., pp. 311-2. 1576, March 17. ‘A letter to the Sherif of Oxon and Sir Robert Doiley, knight, that wheare they have apprehendid certen roges namyng themselves Egiptians, forasmuch as there is alredie a Commission sente into the countie of Berks for the trying of diverse of that cumpanie apprehendid in that countie, and that such as have ben by them apprehendid are knowen to be of that troope, they are required to send under safe garde of the nomber of those whom they have committed, namelye, Phelipp Bastien, Rowland Gabriell, Lawrence Banister and John Bailif, that there with the rest they may be procedid against according to lawe.

‘A letter to the Sherif and Justices of Peace in the countie of Berks thancking them for their service in apprehending of divers roges naming themselves Egiptians, requireng them to folowe the Commission of *Oyer* and *Determiner* latelie sent unto them for that purpose, to procede against them according to lawe and justice, and for their better assistantes therein the Lords have written their letters to Mr. Plowden, appoinetid to be of the said Commission, to make his presente repaire unto them; and for that their Lordships are given to understande that in the countie of Oxon there are also apprehendid divers other rogues knowen to be of the cumpanie of the others taken and committed in Berks aforesaid, their Lordships have likewise directed their letters to the Sherif [of] the countie of Oxon to send the said rogues unto the Sherif and Justices aforesaid under safe garde, requireng them also to proceade against them with the others.

'A letter to Mr. Plowden that where there are apprehendid in the countie of Berks certain rogues namyng themselves Egiptians, and for that their apprehencion was after thassises, and therefore a Commission of *Oyer* and *Determiner* sent downe expresselie for that purpose, wherein he is appointed a Commissioner for the better assistaunce of the Justices there, and for that some of the said rogues are charged with Highe Treason, he is required to make his repaire furthwith into the said countie, and there to assiste the said Justices with his counsaile and advise for the better proceeding therin.'

Ib., p. 314. 1577, March 27. 'A letter to the Lord Keper, whereas the rogues which latelie were taken in the countie of Bucks cannot be tried in the countie of Berks by vertue of the Commission that latelie was sent downe to the Sheriff and Justices there, his Lordship is required to cause a like Commission of *Oyer* and *Determiner* to be directed to the Sherif and Justices of the countie of Bucks, that they lickewise may procede against the said rogues acording to the lawes of this realme ordeyned to that purpose.'

Ib., p. 315. 'A letter to the Sherif of Bucks, Sir Robert Doiley and the rest of the Justices there, that where their Lordships by letters from Sir Robert Doiley certifieng the apprehencion in that countie of certain rogues namyng themselves Egiptians, gave order that they sholde be safelie conveyed into the countie of Bercks, there to be tried with others of their cumpany; and understanding since that by the woordes of the Statute they are onlye to be tried by thinhabitauntes of the place where they are apprehendid, they are required to receve the said rogues againe, and by vertue of the Commyssion of *Oyer* and *Determiner* which they shall receve herewith, to proceade against them acording to the lawes of the realme ordeyned in that behalf.

'A letter to the Sherif of Barks, whereas their Lordships understanding by letters from them that such rogues as were apprehendid in the countie of Bucks, and by their Lordships' order sent unto them to be with others by them apprehendid proceaded against, cannot by expresse woordes of the Statute be tryed but by the inhabitauntes of the place where they were apprehendid; their Lordships have appoineted a like Commission of *Oyer* and *Determiner* to be furthwith sent unto the Sherif and the Justices of that countye, by vertue whereof they shall proceade against them acording to lawe; they are therefore

required to cause the said rogues to be under safe garde returned againe to the Sherif and Justices of Bucks aforesaide, that they may go forward to the triall of them there; and where by his letters it is advertised that he hath made staye of thexecucion of Phelippe Bastian because he may give evidence againste others, their Lordships do very well like thereof, and for his care and diligence in this service yeld him their hartie thanckes.'

From the *Annals of England* (Oxford, 1853), vol. ii. p. 287, quoted by Crofton, it appears that Rowland Gabriel, Katherine Deago and six others were tried at Aylesbury on Apr. 18, 1577, and were found guilty and hanged.

Ib., p. 341. 1577, May 12. 'A letter to Mr. Attorney and Sollicitour Generall touching one Massye, latelie brought up out of Chesshire, accused by certen vagaboundes comenly calling themselves Egiptians to have ben a writer and counterfeter of their licenses, whereof sum were under the Grete Seale of England, to peruse the said deposicions, and to have him procedid with according to justice.'

Vol. x. p. 11. 1577, Aug. 4. 'A letter to the Knight Marshall the (*sic*) where ther is one Richard Massy remaining prisoner with him for counterfeiting of a license for certen roges naming themselves Egiptians, forasmuch as his wife hath ben an humble suiter unto their Lordships for him and that here there cannot be any direct triall hadd of thoffence, he is required fourthwith, upon receipt of their Lordships' letters (yf he shalbe able to put in two suerties to be bounde in the somme of xl^{li} for his apparence the next Gaole Delivery at Salop, where thoffence was committed) to sett him at libertye.'

Vol. xi. p. 362. 1579, Jan. 10. 'A letter to the President and Councell in the Marches of Wales signifieng that where their Lordships do understande by a letter written unto Mr. Comptroller from the Sheriffe of the countie of Radnor that he hathe of late apprehended the number of xl^{tie} vagrant personnes, terming themselves Egiptiens, who according to the Statute of the vth yeare of her Majesties raigne are to be arraigned as fellons; forasmuch as the Sheriffe desirethe for the avoyding of charges that may growe by the feeding of so greate a number in prison till the next Assises there might be a Commission graunted for the trying of them according to the said Statute, their Lordships have therefore thought good (they having a Commission for that

purpose remayning with them) to require them fourthwith to appointe a convenient number of Commissioners who maie immediatelie proceade to the triall of the Egiptiens within the countye where they were apprehended.'

Vol. xvii. p. 279. 1589, June 17. 'A letter to the Justices of Assize for the county of Hereford; whereas their Lordships were given to understand of certaine lewd and badd persons terminge them selves Egiptians, that lived by deceitfull shiftes, pilfering and abusing of the people, going from place to place, and were apprehended and commytted by Mr. Garvons, one of the Justices of the Peace for that county; for as moche as they did cooler their goinge about the countie with a counterfaicte passeport, thereby increasing their offence and lewdnes, their Lordships thought [good] to referr them to them to be at the Assizes next holden there proceeded against according to the lawes of the Realme, and as they should in their dyscrecions thincke to be meete for their correction and to rydd and ease the country of those badd and lewd kind of people.

'A letter unto the Sheryfe of Hereford that where Mr. Whiteney had in his handes certaine goodes that were taken from the said Egiptians, he shall by vertue hereof take the same into his handes for the releefe of the said prysoners while they should remaine in duraunce.

'A letter unto John Garveons, esquire, specyfyng therein the effect of the two former letters, with their Lordships' thanckes for his dyscrecion and paines in these matters of the counterfaite Egiptians.'

Vol. xxi. pp. 62-3. 1591, Apr. 26. 'A letter to William Cardinall and Anthony Nevill. Wee have receaved your late letters reportinge unto us the lewd behaviour of those vagrand persones terminge themselves Egiptians that have comitted sondry outrages one her Majesty's good subjectes, and do very well allow of the course you tooke bothe for the suppressinge of their insolencies and spoyles as for the apprehendinge and comittinge to prysone of soche of them as were brought before you. And because your juste proceedinge therin was crossed and lett by Mr. Rosse and the two other justices mencioned in your letter, we have caused them to be sent for to answer their doinges in that behalfe before us, whereof wee have thought good to give you notice, to th' ende if they shall goe about, as it is to be presumed, to denie or excuse there doinges in that they did set set (*sic*) at

libertie soche malefactours and seditious people, some sufficient persone well instructed in that matter might be sent hithere from you to charge them with the same. And so requiringe you to take the like care and order you have done for the apprehension and comittinge to pryson of so many of those disordered and temulteous (*sic*) people as shalbe yet found in those partes, to th' ende suche punishment may be inflicted uppon them as shalbe fit for there desertes, &c.

'An other letter at this instant wrytten requiringe the said Mr. Rosse, William Sutton and Mr. Bassett, Justices of Peace, upon receipte thereof to make theire present repaiers to the Court to answere their doinges in this behalfe before theire Lordships.'

Vol. xxiii. pp. 290-1. 1592, Nov. 13. 'A letter to Sir Henry Winston, Mr. John Stafford, Mr. Richard Stephens. Whereas we understand by your letters of the last of October last past that you, Sir Henry Winston, have made stay of certen vagrant persons that under the name of Egiptians to the nomber of 49 and up-wardes have by counterfett licens formerlie passed divers counties of this realme, and that manie of them being yong children and stollen from sundrie persons of that cuntrie by the Egiptians, by reason you cannot heare the certentie of their several birthes you are not able to bestow them acording to the tenor of the statute in that behalf provided, but do desire to be disburdened of them and doe deferr proceding against them (*sic*) offenders til our direction therein signified. We have thought good to lett you knowe that we thinck fitt you take the advice of som learned and sufficient counselor at the law what coorse maie convenientlie and lawfullie be taken both for the disposing of the children and due punishment of the rest, and accordingle forthwith to proceede to the examinacion thereof, that the contrie be noe more pestred with them, being such evel members. Soe geving you verie hartie thanckes for your care in the aprehencion of them, prayinge you also to continew your like indevoure, we bid, &c.'

Vol. xxvi. p. 325. 1596, Nov. 21. 'A letter to the Recorder of London, Mr. Topcliffe and Mr. Skevington. Whereas there were of late certaine lewd persons to the nomber of 80 gathered togeather calling themselves Egiptions and wanderers thorough divers countyes of the realme were (*sic*) stayed in Northamptonshire, wherupon we caused some of the ringleaders of them to be brought up hether and have committed them to prison, theis shalbe to require you by vertue hereof to examine the said lewd

persons upon suche artycles and informacions as you shall receive from the Lord Cheife Justice of her Majesty's Benche, and yf you shall not be hable by faire meanes to bring them to reveale their lewd behavior, practyses and ringleaders, then wee thincke yt meet they shalbe removed to Brydewell and there be put to the manacles, wherby they maie be constrained to utter the truthe in those matters concerning their lewd behavior that shalbe fitt to be demaunded of them.'

The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, edited . . . by David Masson.

Vol. xii. (Edinburgh, 1895) p. 77. Aug. 25, 1619. 'Ane act in favouris of James Leslie, Arthour and Alexander Forbeses, aganis the ressettaris of Egiptianis.'

Ib., pp. 151-2. Edinburgh, Dec. 21, 1619. 'Forsamekle as, althocht be divers Actis of Parliament and Secreit Counsaill the counterfoote theiveis and lymmairis callit Egipsianis wes comandit to depairt furthe of this kingdome within ane certane speace mentioned in the saidis actis, under the paine of deade, and that all his Majesteis subjectis wer straitlie prohibite and dischargeit in ony caise to ressett, supplie, or harbour the saidis theiveis and lymmairis, under the paine of confiscatioun and escheatting of all thair moveabill goodis to his Majesteis use; notwithstanding quhair of the not executioun of the saidis actis aganis the saidis lymmairis and the ressett, supplie, and harbour quhilk they ressave and daylie ressavis frome the subjectis of this kingdome, not onlie encourageis the saidis idill lymmaris to remaine within the countrey, bot to committ infinite thifte, insolenceis, and oppressionis upoun his Majesteis goode subjectis in all pairtis quhair they hant and frequent; and whereas petition hes [bene] maid to the Kingis Majestie on the behalf of James Leslie, Arthour Forbes, bruther to the Bischope of Abirdeyne, and Alexander Forbes, servitour to the Duke of Lennox, craveing the benefite of the said escheite and bestowit upoun thame; and his Majestie having [referrit the] consideration of the said petition to the Lordis of his Hienes Secreit Counsaill, and they being willing for his Majesteis satisfacioun to gif unto his saidis petitionaris suche contentment in this poynt as may stand with firme ordour and law: Thairfoir the saidis Lordis declairis be thir presentis that, gif the saidis personis will under-

take to enquire and discover the personis guyltie of the ressett of the saidis lymmairis throughout this kingdome, and will dilate thame to his Majesteis Thesaurair and Deputie Thesaurair, or gif informatioun to his Majesteis Advocat, raise letteris and summond assyss or witnesses aganis thame and produce sic verificatioun as may gif evidence of thair guyltines of the said cryme, that then and in that caise the saidis petitionaris sall have ane half of the composicioun, fynes, unlawis and penalteis of all suche personis as sall compone [and] take remissionis, become in will, or that salbe convict or be fugitive fra the lawis for the said cryme, and that the benefeit of this Act sall stand in force to thair use and behove for the speace of fyve yeiris nixtcome efter the date heirof, and forder ay and quhill thir presentis be speciallie dischargeit be the saidis lordis.'

Ib., 2nd Ser., vol. i. (Edinburgh, 1899) pp. 217-8. Jan. 11, 1626. 'The Sheriff of Haddingtoun "haveing latelie apprehendit and committit to warde some Egyptianis upoun suspicioun of raising of fyre, he hes sensyne fund that they were not onlie innocent of that cryme, bot wer goode instrumentis to prævent the harme whilk might haif happinit by that occasioun; and, althoght by the lawis of this kingdome thay ar punisheable for caryeing the name and professioun of Egyptianis, yit, because thay haif not bene deprehendit in ony unlaughfull fact, the Kingis Majestie is graciously pleasit that thay be dismissed and banished this kingdome." The Lords of Council therefore, "according to his Majesties will and speciall command and directioun gevin unto thame in this matter," ordain the Sheriff of Hadingtoun and his deputtis "to appoynt and sett ane schireff court, and to call the saidis Egyptianis thairin before thame, and to pronounce doome and sentence of banishment aganis thame out of this kingdome dureing thair lyftymes, ordaning thame to depairt and pas furthe of the kingdome within the space of a moneth after the pronouncing of the sentance, with certificatioun to thame that, gif after the said space of a moneth thay salbe apprehendit within this kingdome, that thay salbe execute to the dead without ony further dittae or accuser."—The warrant by his Majesty is as follows:—CHARLES R.—Right trustie and right welbeloved cosen and counsellour, and trustie and welbeloved counsellour, we greete you well.—Whereas we are credible informed that certane Egyptianis, being apprehendit and committit to saif custodie by the schireff of Hadingtoun upoun suspitioun of raiseing of fyre, haif upoun exact tryall

bene fund not onlie innocent of that crime, but also speciall goode instrumentis for præventing the cheifest harme whiche might haif happinit by that accident; and, althoght by the lawis of that our kingdome thay be punisheable for only caryeing the name and professioun of Egyptianis, yit, becaus at this tyme thay haif not bene deprehendit in ony unlaughfull fact, we ar well pleased that you gif directioun to the schireff afoirsaid to dismishe and banishe thame out of that our kingdome, with certificatioun to thame that, if after the tyme limited to thame they salbe apprehendit, it salbe laughfull to proceid to thair executioun to deathe without ony further dittae or accuser. In whiche behalf as these præsentis salbe unto you and ather of you a sufficient warrand, we bid you farewell.—Gevin at our Honnour of Hamptoun Court the thrid day of Januar 1626.'

Ib., p. 542. March 8, 1627. 'Forsameekle as, the Kings Majestie being resolved to send some regiments of men of warre to his darrest uncle the King of Denmarke for the better enhabling of him to prosecute and follow out that warre whairin he is now ingadged, his Majestie for this effect hes made choice of Alexander, Lord Spynie, to have the charge of a regiment of three thowsand men, and commissioun is givin to him thairanent . . .; and the Lords of Secreit Counsell understanding that thair is numbers of strong, able, and counterfoote lymmaris, called Egyptians, who be the lawes of this kingdom and Acts of Parliament ar alreadie declairit criminalls and stands under the danger of thair lyves, and that lykeweyes thair is throughout all this kingdom numbers of strong and sturdie beggers and vagabounds, maisterlesse men and ydle loyterers . . .: Thairfoir the saids Lords gives full power and commissioun be thir presents to the said Alexander, Lord Spynie, his captans, officiars, and uthers having warrant from him, upon the provisioun and conditioun underwritin and no utherwayes, to searche, seeke, and take all suche counterfoote lynmars callit Egyptians and strong and sturdie beggaris and vagabounds, all ydle and maisterlesse loyterers . . . and to putt thame in service for the warres foirsaidis under the charge of his captans and commanders. And, if anie of thame sall refuse to enter in the said service, and, being entered and enrolled, sall thairafter steale away and leave thair service, that the said Lord of Spynie, his captans, officiars, and serjants, apprehend thame and committ thame to waird, thairin to remaine till the commoditie of thair transporting be presented: Commanding heerby

all proveists and baillies within burgh to ressave all suche persons in their said waird and to keepe thame thairin in maner abone-written, the said Lord of Spynie . . . being answerable for thair interteanement during thair remaining in waird. Provyding alwayes that, before the saids Lord, his captans or officiars, imprissoun anie of thir strong and sturdie beggars and vagabounds, that he try thame to be persons of that ranke and qualitie . . .'

Ib., pp. 546-7. March 13, 1627. Similar powers granted to Robert, Earl of Nithsdale, and to Sir James Sinclair of Murkill.

Ib., pp. 565-6. Apr. 3, 1627. 'Forsameekle as the Lords of our Privie Counsell, for the better furtherance and advancement of the service undertaikin be Robert, Erle of Nithsdail, Alexander, Lord Spynie, and James Sinclair of Murkill, towards the lifting and transport of some regiments for supplee of his Majesteis darrest uncle, the King of Denmarke, in the warres whairin he is now ingadged, [wer pleasit] to give warrant and direction that all Egyptians, strong and sturdie beggars and vagabounds, ydle and maisterlesse men wanting trades and competent meanes to live upoun, and who in that respect ar unprofitable burthenis to the countrie, and all fugitive souldiers from Colonell M^cKy, sould be apprehended and imployed in this service after tryell tane be the commissioners and judges mentionat in the Act made thairanent that thay ar persons of the ranke and qualitie foirsaid . . . ; whilk Act in the terms and tennour as is sett down will not produce that good effect for the advancement of that service whilks the saids Lords expectit, becaus numbers of thir people who ar trewlie of the ranke and qualitie foirsaid, doe directlie oppose thameselves against the captans, officiars, and serjants imployed in this service and having warrant to take thame and present thame to the tryell of thair qualiteis before the Judges and Commissioners foresaids, and numbers of thame hes conveened thameselves in societies and companeis, armed with hacquebutts and pistolets and uther armour, being resolved by opin force and violence to stand out against the saids captans, officiars, and serjants, whairthrow the executioun of the saids Lords thair ordinance anent the unprofitable and burthenable people is lyke to be frustrat, to the great hinder of this worthie service whilk his Majestie so instantlie and earnestlie affects, without remeed be provided: Thairfoir the Lords of Secreit Counsell ordanis letters to be direct to command and charge all shireffs, stewarts, bailleis of regaliteis and royalteis, Commissioners of the Middle Shyres, justiceis of peace, proveists

and baillies within burgh . . . to take diligent inquirie and tryell of all Egyptians, strong and sturdie beggars and vagabounds, ydle and maisterlesse men . . . and all fugitive souldiours from Colonell M^cKy, and to inroll thair names, and take and apprehend thame . . . and to delyver thame to suche captans, officiars, and serjaunts as sall first make requisitioun for thame, to be imployed in the service foirsaid; and, if thay sall make oppositioun or resistance . . . that the said shireffs, stewarts, bailleis, commissioners, justiceis of peace, and magistrats within burgh concurre and assist the saids captans, officiars, and serjants in bringing of these people to thair colours and to the places of thair randevowes for thair imbarking, and suche of thame as sall be most refractar and disobedient to committ thame to waird till farther ordour and directioun be givin anent thame . . . And, whairas numbers of thir people, fearing to be ingadged in this service, withdrawis thameselves towards Ireland, with purpose to lurke and ly thair till the said regiments be imbarked and gone, and then to returne again and renew thair former unlawfull trade of lyfe, and thairfoir to discharge and inhibite all and sindrie skippers, maisters, and awners of barks and uthers vessells, that they on na wayes presume and take upon hand to transport anie persoun or persons furth of this kingdome to Ireland, except suche persouns as ar knowne to be men of good qualitie and credit . . .'

Ib., 2nd Ser., vol. ii. (1900) p. 437. Aug. 8, 1628. 'Instructionns givin be the Lords of Privie Counsell to the commissioners nominat be the King's Majestie for keeping of justice and circuit courts throughout the severall pairts of this kingdome. . . .'

'The Lords of Secreit Counsell gives power and warrand by thir presents to the saids justices and commissioners within thair severall circuits to sitt, cognosce and proceed aganis . . . sorners, vagabounds, maisterfull beggers, fainzied fooles and counterfoote Egyptians.'

Ib., p. 444. Aug. 28, 1628. 'Commission under the Signet to John Burnet of Barns, as justice, to hold courts in the tolbooth of Peebles or elsewhere to try Patrick Faw, one of the counterfeit thieves and limmers called "Egyptians," who on 19th August instant shot the deceased William Turnbull, "cowper" in Heriot town, through the head with a pistol, and killed him, and being taken "with the bloodie hand," was imprisoned in the place of Traquair, where [? misp.] he now is. Signed by Monteith, Wintoun, Galloway, Carnegie, Hamiltoun, S^r Thomas Hoip and Scottistarvett.'

Ib., vol. iii. (1901) p. 533. Apr. 21, 1630. 'Supplication by John, Earl of Cassillis, bailie principal of Carrick, and _____, his bailie depute, as follows:—The latter has apprehended and imprisoned a number of "vagabound theeves callit Egyptians going athort the countrie," but as "they ar not tane with ane fang and none challenges thame for anie crymes," they crave direction as to their disposal. The Lords ordain them "to putt the Act of Parliament made aganis thir counterfoote theeves and lymmars callit Egyptians to dew and full executioun aganis so manie of thir persouns as ar men and weomen conforme to the tennour thair of in all points, or allis to exhibite thame before his Majesteis Justice to underly thair deserved punishment.'

Ib., vol. iv. (1902) pp. 85-6. Dec. 14, 1630. 'Forsameekle as albeit there hes beene diverse Acts of Secreit Counsell and Acts of Parliament following thairupon made be our lait soverane lord of eternall and famous memorie aganis the counterfoote theeves and lymmaris, callit the Egyptians, whairby it is ordained that if anie of the saids vagabound lymmars and theeves, als weill men as weomen, sould be found within this kingdome or anie part thair of after the terme prefixt unto thame for thair departure quhilk now manie yeeres since is expyred and out run that it sould be leasome to all his Majesteis good subjects to caus take, apprehend, imprison and execute to the death the saids Egyptians, als weill men as weomen, as common, notorious and condemned theeves be ane assise onelie to be tryed that they ar callit, knowne, reputie and haldin Egyptians, as the saids Acts conteaning ane expresse prohibition and discharge that nane of his Majesteis subjects sould ressett, supplee or interteanie anie of the saids vagabound theeves and lymmars, callit Egyptians, ather men or weomen, after the expyring of the terme appointed for thair departing furth of this kingdome under the pane of confiscatioun of all thair moveable goods and forder punishing of thame in thair persons in maner specified in the saids Acts at lenth beiris; notwithstanding whair of it is of truthe, as the Lords of Secreit Counsell ar informed, that there is ane great nomber of thir counterfoote vagabounds in the north parts of this kingdome and they goe athort the countrie in troupes and companeis armed with unlawfull and invasive armour, and where they may be masters they extort frome his Majesteis good subjects, who ar not able to resist thame, suche things as they stand in neid of, threatning the refusears with all kynde of extremitie and violence, so as they ar become anc unsupportable

burdein to the countrie, and his Majesteis judges and officers of the countrie and the noblemen, barons and gentlemen who ar of power and strenth to apprehend thir vagabond lymmars ar become so remisse and carelesse of thair honnours, credite and dewtie in this point as they connive at the behaviour and cariage of thir lymmars and suffers thame without controlment to sorne and oppresse the countrie at thair pleasure, highlie to his Majesteis contempt and misregard of lawe and justice. Thairfoir the Lords of Secreit Counsell ordains letters to be direct to command and charge all and sindrie his Majesteis sheriffs, judges and magistrats, and all noblemen, barons and gentlemen and others his Majesteis subjects being of power within or neir to whois bounds thir vagabound and counterfoote theeves and lymmars haunts and repaires to searche, seeke, hunt, follow and persew thame, and to take and apprehend thame, and to committ thame to waird and to execute his Majesteis lawes aganis thame as commoun, notorious and condemned theeves in maner specifeit in the saids acts and under the panes mentioned thairintill, and under the pane to be callit, persewed and punished and fyned at the discretioun of his Majesteis Counsell, the ane halfe of quhilk fynes sall be givin to the delatour and informer aganis thame; certi-feing alsua all and sindrie his Majesteis subjects who sall ressett, supplee or interteanie anie of the saids vagabound theeves and lymmars, men or weomen, that they sall be lykewayes callit and conveenned before his Majesteis Counsell and sall be censured and fyned accordinglie, the ane halfe of quhilks fynes sall be givin to the informer and delatour.'

Ib., p. 99. 'Proclamatioun aganis Egiptianis' (among the Acta for Dec. 21, 1630).

Ib., vol. v. p. 360. Sept. 17, 1634. A proclamation reinforcing an act 'in the parliament haldin at Edinburgh in the moneth of Junij, 1592,' whereby 'it is statute and ordained that all shireffs and other judges ordinar, als weill to burgh as land, within regalitie as royaltie, sall doe thair exact diligence in inquiryng, searching and apprehending of sorners, oppressours, vagabounds and beggars wandering athort the countrie and all simulat theeves and egyptians.'

Ib., p. 402. Edinburgh, Nov. 6, 1634. 'Complaint by Mr. George Sydserfe, minister at Colbrandspeth, as follows:—Some two years ago certain gypsies and vagabond sturdy beggars broke into and spoiled his house, and pursued himself with pistolets and

swords. They are ordinarily reset within the bounds of the lordship of Thorntoun and Dunglas, of which George Home is bailie, and the said George Home about that time received from the said gypsies a stolen horse, which he still retains, and had very frequent intercourse and intelligence with these vagabonds against the laws of this realm and contrary to the duty of his place. For purging the bounds of these wicked persons and that the gentlemen within whose bounds they resort, especially the said George Home should have no pretext for overlooking them by wanting commission and power against them, the complainer procured a commission to the said George Home and certain barons in the country for apprehending and exhibiting these gypsies to the bailies of Dumbar or Hadinton to underlie their trial. And now lately "great numbers of the said Egyptianis, sometymes fiftie, sometymes threescore, being sorning in East Louthian togidder in troups, where not onelie they had spoyled and herried diverse people both in the compleaners parish and els where, bot als had tane men and wyffes out of thair beds and lyne in the same thameselfes;¹ and the compleaner, being informed that upon the 26 of Junij last these vagabounds were to be all night within the bounds of the lordship of Thorntoun," he sent the said commission to George Home earnestly entreating him to put the same in execution against these gypsies, but he very undutifully refused the service and sent back the commission, and suffered these vagabonds "to have beild and resset within his bounds all that night." Charge having been given to the said George Home as party, and to Thomas Symson in Dryburnefurde and Alexander Frude in Thorntoun loche, as witnesses, and the pursuer appearing by Mr. Thomas Nicolsone, younger, advocate, who produced the commission above referred to, but neither the defender nor the witnesses appearing, the Lords ordain them to be put to the horn and escheated for their contempt.'

Ib., vol. vi. pp. 15-6. Edinburgh, June 4, 1635. 'Forsamekle as some of the counterfoote theeves and lymmars, callit the Egyptians, hes latelie come to the lands of Gattonside and thifteouslie stollin and tane thairof a number of goods per-teaning to the poore tennents of the saids lands, who, having followed thir lymmars, they have apprehended thre of them; to witt, a man and two women, the man and one of the women

¹ Cf. Simson's *History of the Gipsies*, pp. 181-2, where the same uncereemoniousness is ascribed to George Drummond.

being poore and aged and decrepit bodeis and the other woman having ane young barne on her breast; and whereas thir persons apprehended were not prime actors in the said thift bot wer in companie with the saids theeves, and the saids Lords, having advised what forme of punishement sould be inflicted upon the saids persons, they have thought meit and ordained, in respect of thair age and qualitie and that thair punishement according to the law will not be exemplarie to the terroure of others, that the saids persons sall be brunt in the cheeke and publictlie scourged and banished this kingdome, and for execution of this thair ordinance they have givin and grantit and be the tennor heirof gives and grants full power and commission to James Pringill of Buckholme, baillie depute of the regaltie of Melros, to appoint and sett a justice court to be haldin in the tolbuith of Melros or anie other place and upon suche day or dayes as the said baillie depute sall thinke meit, and to make, creat clerkes and others officers and members of court neidfull and to call the saids persons before thame in the saids courts and to pronounce the said doome and sentence publictlie aganis thame; and to have ane speciall care to see the said doome execute accordinglie; firme and stable halding and for to hald all and quhatsomever things the said baillie sall doe heerin.'

Ib., p. 648. Nov. 10, 1636. Mention is made of the 'Scroll of two decreets of Council relating to . . . the gipsies taken by Sir Arthur Douglas of Whittinghame, printed *ante* p. 333' and of the 'Supplication by . . . [Auch]mowtie of Gosfuird, knight, sheriff-principal of Haddington, narrating that within the past month Sir Arthur Dowglas of Quhitingame had brought to him certain "vaiging egyptianes quhairof four men and boyes and women with bairnes at thair . . . and on thair bakes."

He had placed them within the tolbooth of Haddingtoun and craves their Lordships' directions as to what he shall do with them. The Lords' deliverance is noted on the back and signed Sanctandrews, I.P.D. It is narrated *ante*, p. 333,' and it may be found in MacRitchie (pp. 100-1), who quotes it from Pitcairn.

Ib., p. 528. Sept. 20, 1637. 'The whilk day in presence of the Lords of Secreit Counsell compeired personallie Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, knight baronnet, Advocat to our soverane lord, and declared that out of his affectioun to his Majesteis service and dewtie of his place as ane counseller he had caused latelie apprehend twa vagabounds, callit Egyptians, and sent

thame over to the provest and bailleis of Edinburgh, be whome they wer committed to waird within thair tolbuith, where they presentlie remaine; quhilk declaration being heard and considerit be the saids Lords, they have allowed and allowes of the service done be his Majesteis said Advocat in this mater, and ordains the Lord Cheefe Justice to call the saids twa Egyptians before him, and to pronounce doome or banishment aganis thame, taking thame actit never to returne under the pane of death, and ordaining thame to be delivered to Colonell Robert Stuart to be transported be him to the warres.'

From MacRitchie, p. 101, it appears that these two persons were 'John Stewart sone to Niniane Stewart of Stokwall in Glasgow and James faa sone to Moysie faa, bayth egipsianes,' that their only offence was that they were Gypsies, and that they offered to serve in the wars abroad—probably without the least intention of doing so.

Ib., 3rd Ser., vol. i. pp. 384-5. Edinburgh, June 23, 1663. 'The Lords of his Majesties Privy Councill, being informed that one under the name of Baylie, and severall others, called Egiptians, doe abuse and spoile the countrey, and that they have killed one named , for which some of them are already apprehendit by the Lord Duk Hamiltoun and his deputts, the said Lords doe therfore give warrand to the said Duke Hamiltoun and his deputts to cause search after, take and apprehend the rest of the persons suspect guilty of these enormities, and to secure their persons, take tryall of their guilt, and to report to the Councill.'

Ib., p. 589. Edinburgh, Aug. 17, 1664. 'Charles, etc. Forsameikle as wee and the Lords of our Privy Councill are informed that Alexander Jonstoun, Jonet Baird, Issobell Duncan and Jean Broun, Egiptian vagabonds, are apprehendit and imprisoned within the tolbuith of the burgh of Lanerk as suspect guilty of cutting and stealling of purses and severall other crymes of theft committed be them, and, to the effect justice may be administrat upon the saids persons conform to the lawes of this our realme, we, with advyce of the Lords of our Privy Councill, have given and granted and by these presents give and grant our full power, authoritie and commission, expresse bidding and charge to Gavin Hamiltoun of Raploch, shireff deputt of the said shyre, Jon Bannatyne of Corhouse, Thomas Inglis of Eistsheill, Mr William Somervale at Douglas toun and James Hastie, ane of the baylies, or any thrie of them, to be our justices

in that part, to affix and hold courts, creat clerks, etc., assyses to call, absents to amerciast, unlaues and amerciaments to uplift and exact, and in the saids courts to call the saids Alexander Jonstoun, Jonet Baird, Issobell Duncan and Jean Broun, and putt them to the tryall and knowledge of ane assyse, and, according as they shall be found innocent or guilty of the forsaidis crymes, that they cause justice be administrat upon them conform to the lawes of this our realme, and generally, etc. Given under our signett, etc.'

Ib., 3rd Ser., vol. ii. p. 101. Edinburgh, Nov. 2, 1665. 'Supplication by George Hutcheson, merchant in Edinburgh, "for himself and in name and behalf of his copartners, merchands of the ship bounding for Gemaica and Barbadoes," as follows:— Out of a desire "to promote the Scottish and Inglish plantations in Gemaica and Barbadoes for the honour of their countrey," as well as "to frie the kingdom of the burden of many strong and idle beggars, Egiptians, common and notorious whores and theives and other disolute and louse persons banished or stigmatized for grosse crymes," they have been by former acts of Council authorised to seize upon such persons and transport them to the said plantations; and though of late they have by warrant from the sheriffs, justices of peace and magistrates of burghs, where the said persons haunt, apprehended some of them, yet without authority of the Council they may meet with some opposition in this good work. The Lords, having considered the petition, grant warrant to the petitioner to transport all such persons delivered to them by the magistrates, "provyding alwayes that ye bring the said persons before the Lord Justice Clerk, to whom it is hereby recommendit to try and take notice of the persons that they be justly convict for crymes or such vagabonds as by the lawes of the countrey may be apprehendit to the effect the countrey may be disburthened of them.'"

Other similar grants occur in the volume:—pp. 201-2, to James Hamiltoun to transport them to Virginia (9 Oct., 1666); p. 205, to George Grant (Oct. 11); p. 358, to John Scot, James Currie, Patrick Fyf, James Hamiltoun, Andrew Spainzie, and Johne Maistertoun (7 Nov., 1667). They are couched in precisely the same terms, and so is that to James Dumbar (Jan. 11, 1666, pp. 128-9) except that Gypsies are not mentioned. The grants to Hutcheson and Dumbar are noticed by MacRitchie, p. 103.

Ib., 3rd Ser., vol. iii. (1910) pp. 427-8. Dec. 21, 1671. 'Supplication by Patrick and James Shaw, sons of Robert Shaw in Bristo in the parish of Curry in the stewartry of Annandall, as follows:—

Whereas in the said stewartry of Annandale and other places adjacent upon the Borders there are several vagabond sturdy beggars, thieves and other loose and lawless persons, who have no other visible way of living but by "stouth" and robbery, so that it is hardly possible for honest persons to travel in the country or keep their houses, there being divers persons frequently assaulted by them; and particularly the persons following, viz., Alexander Faw, Henry Faw, Robert Young, Robert Faw, Ninian Faw, John Broune, Thomas Faw, William Faw, George Browne, Duncan Crumley, John Gray, Patrick Browne, James McIlpherson, John Robertson and David Leitch, are notourly known to be idle vagabonds and masterless men, who by themselves and their accomplices abuse and oppress the people by stealing, sorning and oppressing. Commission is accordingly craved, and granted, whereby the supplicants may apprehend these persons and their accomplices and transport them out of the kingdom provided such persons be first declared thieves, robbers or vagabonds by sentence of a sheriff, magistrates of royal burghs or other competent judge. This commission is to endure for a year.'

Alexander Faw may be the 'Old Sandie Faw' who was killed in the battle of Romanno in 1677, and Robert Faw the person who was hanged in February 1678 for killing one of the Youngs. The supplicants appear to be Gypsies too. For James Shaw, cf. p. 31.

Ib., vol. iv. p. 490. Edinburgh, Nov. 18, 1675. 'The Lords of his Majesties Privy Councill, being informed by ane address made to them in behalf of the baylies of Dumbar that there are eleven persons apprehendit and imprisoned in the tolbuith of the said burgh called Egiptians who were found committing disorders in the said burgh doe grant order and warrand to the commanding officer of the foot quartered at Haddingtoun to cause a party of foot bring in prisoners to Edinburgh the forsaid persons, and ordains the magistratts of Dumbar to delyver them to the party and the magistratts of Edinburgh to receave them and to detain them in their tolbuith untill further order; and ordaines a letter to be wrytten to the magistratts of Dumbar requyring them to send in to his Majesties Advocat what information and evidences they can of the guilt of the saides persons that they may be proceeded against according to law.'

Ib., p. 513. Edinburgh, Feb. 3, 1676. 'The Lords of his Majesties Privy Councill ordaines the magistratts of Edinburgh to delyver the persons of Alexander, Robert and Jon Faes, James, Robert and Alexander Shawes, John Abercrombie and Thomas

Tueedy, prisoners in the Theives holl as vagabonds and Egiptians, to Leivtennant Jon M^cCulloch to the effect they may be transported to France, and to that end to sett them at liberty, in regard the said Leivtennent M^cCulloch hes found caution acted in the bookes of Councill that he shall transport and cary them to France under the payne of fyve hundreth merks in case of faylie, and that the saids persons have inacted themselves never to return to this kingdom under the most sever censure and punishment the Councill shall please to inflict in case of faylie. As also ordaines the magistratts of Edinburgh to dispose of the women prisoners as they shall think fitt for security of the city and country of further trowble by them.'

Ib., p. 668. Feb. 4, 1676. 'Bond of caution by M^r William M^cCulloch, son of the deceased Laird of Ardwell, for Lieutenant John M^cCulloch, that he will convey Alexander, Robert and John Fae, James, Robert and Alexander Shaw, John Abercrombie and Thomas Tweedy, prisoners for crimes in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, to France, under the penalty of 500 merks; and the said prisoners enact themselves never to return to this kingdom under the severest penalties; dated at Edinburgh, 4th February, 1676; witnesses, Hugh Stevenson, writer in Edinburgh, and George Rae, his servitor, who wrote the bond.'

Ib., p. 658. Nov. 18, 1675. 'Petition, magistratts of Dumbar anent some Egiptian prisoners in the tolbuith of the said burgh.'

Ib., p. 659. Nov. 18, 1675. 'The Petitione of the magistrates of Dumbar being reade, ane order granted to the commander of that pairt of the troupe under the Earle of Atholls command quartered at Dumbar and Hadingtoun to cause a partie bring in these gipsies imprisoned at Dumbar, and to committ them prisoners to the tolbuith of Edinburgh; and that a letter bee written to the magistrates to send in to his Majesties Advocate what information and evidence they can of the guilt of these persones.'

Ib., p. 659. 18 Nov. 1675. 'Unto the Lords of his Majestys most honourable Privy Councell, the humble petitione of the magistrats of the brugh of Dunbar, sheueth—That, notwithstanding of diverse and sundry acts of Parliament and laues of this kingdome against Egiptians, vagabounds and sturdie begars, ther hath beine above the number of threscor of Egiptians armed with suords, durks and pistols frequenting the east part of the shyre of Hadingtoun and goinge up and doun from Cokburnspeth to Linton Bridge or therby in diverse companyes comitting severall acts of

thift clandestinly in diverse contrey steads and under cloud of night assalting the pasagers by the high wayes these 20 dayes or therby, and taking from them quhat they hade; and that upon the 10 of this instant above the number of 20 armed, as said is, came in to the said brugh and, having lodged in severall places that night, upon the ii instant, being their fare day, many of the persons whoe frequented the mercat found ther goods and moneyes ruffled and pyked from them clandestinly, but could not discover the doers therof; and touards the evening and end of the mercat, tuo companyes of them of the names of Faa and Shau, haveing met at ane ines and after their cups, squabbling among themselves did wound uthers and some of the inhabitants, and the magistrats of the place, upon notice therof endeavoring to compesce the tumult by comandng them to his Majesties peace, were threatned and abused and some of their serjands wounded; but at length, by the concurrance and assistance of the toun and uther people ther for the tyme, there were ii of them brought prisoners to the tolbuith of the said brugh quher they are still kept in firmance. And after severall examinations of them by the saids magistrats, they appear to be Egiptians of no imployment or residence, and whoe can give no acompt of their being their. Which being of such general concernement both to the said toun and contrey, the magistrats conceaved themselves oblist, not only to secure the forsaid persons in prisone but to make the forsaid representatione to your Lordships of Privy Counsell, humbly desyreing that your Lordships may be pleased to take such effectuall course therin as shall most conduce for the security of the said brugh and country, especially seing they are still in constant apprehensions of hazard from their associats; and notwithstanding of the poverty of the brugh these seven night by gane have bein constrained to keepe als strong ane guard as they are able, and in the meantyme to liberat them of all further expenss and trouble about them and to order ane saffe transporting of them to ane surer prisone and quhat else your Lordships in justice shall think fitt that the petitioners through the prosecution of ther deutys be not prejudged, and your Lordships answer. Will Kirkwood, baily, in name of the brugh.'

(On the back.) 'Order by the Council upon the foregoing petition as printed *ante*, p. 490. (Signed) "Roths, Cancell., I.P.D."'

Ib., vol. v. pp. 267-8. Edinburgh, Oct. 9, 1677. 'The Lords of his Majesties Privy Councill, being informed that latly there

being severall vagabonds called Egiptians of the names of Shaw and Faw, who having mett, did discord and quarrell, and did fight together, in which conflict some persons are killed, whereupon the Laird of Romano, in whose bounds the same was done, did immediatly apprehend of these vagabonds the persons underwritten, viz:—Robert Shaw, Margaret Faw, his spous, James, Patrick, Alexander and Thomas Shaws, their sones, and Helen Shaw, their daughter, Robert and John Faws, John Faw, younger, Agnes and Issobell Shaws, Issobell Shaw, younger, and George Faw, and did committ them prisoners within the tolbuith of Peebles, the saids Lords have thought fitt hereby to grant order and warrant to William Horseburgh of that Ilk, shreffe deput of the shreffdome of Peebles, and the magistrats of that burgh, to transport the persons abovementioned from the tolbuith of Peebles, and to delyver them to the shreffe of Edinburgh or his deputts, who are hereby ordered to receave and transport them to Edinburgh, and to deliver them to the magistrats thereof, who are appoynted to receave and detean them prisoners in their tolbuith untill they are brought to a tryall befor the Lords of the Justiciary for the murther committed by them; and ordains the petitioners to send alongst with the saids prisoners any confessions made by them, with the points of the dittay against them, and the names of the witnesses to be made use of for proving the same, with any things that were upon the saids prisoners when they were taken, without which the shreffe of Edinburgh and his deputts and the magistrats of Edinburgh shall not be holden to receave them.'

Ib., p. 270. Holyrood House, Oct. 27, 1677. 'The Lords of his Majesties Privy Councill doe hereby give order and warrant to the Laird of Romanno, M^r Alexander Pennicuik and M^r Patrick Purdy, to send in to the clerks of the Councill, upon sight hereof, the armes and other things in their custody which were upon these persons called Egiptians when they were apprehended and imprisoned. As also doe ordaine the shreffe deput of Peebles to send in and deliver, upon sight hereof, to the saids clerks the money, gold, gold ringes and other things which were upon these persons, and now are in his custody (allowing only the first article of the accompt given in of fiftein pounds Scotts as debursed for entertainment of these persons when they were in Peebles), to be disposed upon as the Councill shall order.'

From MacRitchie (p. 109) it appears that 'old Robin Shaw' and his three sons were hanged for the murder at Romanno on the sixth of February 1678, and either

John or Robert Faw (his authorities differ as to the name) on the thirteenth for the murder of one of the Youngs at Aberdeen.

In his *Early Annals* Crofton mentions the arrest of some Gypsies named Grey, Smith, and Parker, in Yorkshire, in 1649-50, referring to the *Publications of the Surtees Society*, vol. xl. pp. 27-8, as his authority. But considering how few records we have of that date, which give us any details of the movements of bands of Gypsies and their behaviour on the march, the record seems worth quoting *in extenso* for the benefit of those to whom the original publication is not accessible. It is among some depositions from the Castle of York, and reads as follows :—

‘ *Richard Smith and others. For being Gipsies.*

‘ March 8, 1649-50. Before Luke Robinson, Esq. *William Allan of Bransby, constable*, saith that divers people in the habitts of jipsey came to Butterwicke the day before they were apprehended att Normanby, the same who are now in the Castle of Yorke. Divers of them did tell fortunes to children and to others, and askt them money. They did some tyme speake in languages wich none who were by could understand.

‘ *Jane, wife of Thomas Savadge, of Bransby*, sayth that she went to Wm. Kattill’s house, where these people were, about sixe of them, and one of them, a woman, did wagge hir hand of hir, and did draw hir to a side, and told her shee would helpe her to 60*l.*, three silver spoones and two gold rings, if she might have halfe, and one shilling, fower pence, one linning sherte and one linning pillow beare.

‘ Richard Smith, and Barbary, whoe pretends to bee his wife, Francis Parker, Elizabeth Grey and Elizabeth Parker.

‘ *Richard Smith* doeth confesse that hee and the rest of his company weere apprehended in London as suspicious persons, for highway robbers, and were committed to Newgate and the House of Correccion, and wear in question att the sessions their, but weir, as hee pretends, ordered to bee sent to their severall dwellings or countryes, conducted by one Grey, whoe was not with them when they were apprehended. He confesses that they have beene in severall parts of this country; that they were travayling into Northumberland; that they have been in Herefordshire, Stafford, Salop, Cheshire, and Lancashire, and that they came last from the East Riding about Hesle. He denyes that any of them did professe to tell fortunes. They did likewise produce this passe, concerning which I have received since a letter from Alderman Penington, affirming itt to be forged. And likewise wee did thinke these persons were burned in the hand att theire sessions.’

There is a note on the word jipsey in which a petition that the party sent in is quoted :—‘ To the right worshippfull Mr. Robinson,

Esq., Justice of peace in the North Riding. The humble petition of divers distressed wandring persons, calling themselves by the name of Jepsese.

'Humbly shewith, that, whereas your worship hayth comitted us most justly, and according to our deserts, to the castle of York, where wee are; and our poore infants, almost famished for want of livelihood. And, much the rayther, be reason the men that by your worship's comannd brought us hither, did contrary to all equity and Christiannity, and, as we are informed, contrary to the law of this kingdom, bereft us, and tooke from us our mare, and many things of greate noate and vallew. And, withoute any neede or just cause, getting at many townes both meate and monny for theire and our use, of which your poore petitioners gott smale releife.

'In tender considderation whereof, and see that your petitioners are most sorry for theire former leud course of life; and promisseth, by the help of Almighty God, will indeavor ourselves to direct our lives heareafter, observant to the will of God, and lawes of this land, it, therefore would please your worship to commiserate our distressedness, and in your grave wisdom to cause the cunstable and others to restore our goods soe unjustly tacken from us. And that it would please your worship to call us to the sessions to receyve such punishment as the worshipfull bench shall think fitt, and wee shalbe bound to pray.'

The editor adds:—'At the assizes all the women pleaded pregnancy before judgment. It was allowed in one case, that of Barbara Smith. The others were probably executed. The name of the man does not occur in the calendar.' None of their names occurs in the *Criminal Chronology of York Castle* (York, 1867), though it gives the record of several other persons executed in the same year: so there is a possibility that they escaped death.

In Sir G. Douglas's *Diversions of a Country Gentleman* (1902), pp. 255-267, there is a chapter headed 'A Scottish Gipsy Vendetta,' for which he says the materials are drawn from the records, now in the Register House at Edinburgh, of a trial of some Gypsies at Jedburgh in 1714. From this it appears that at that date a band of Gypsies, under one Patrick Faa, infested the neighbourhood of Kelso. They travelled hither and thither on the affairs of Egypt with one little galloway, good clothes, plenty of money in their pockets, and well armed: and they annoyed the district by demanding harbourage in barns and such places. Though nothing criminal was even alleged against them except the theft of some

silk napkins and muslin headcloths and a cruse, on the Thursday following Fastern's Eve Patrick Faa, his wife Jean Gordon, Mabel Stirling and two daughters—Mary Faa and another—Elspeth Lindsay and Jean Ross, were arrested in a barn at Sprouston by Sir William Ker's orders, and imprisoned at Jedburgh. On the same day William Walker was arrested at Wark. Patrick's mother Janet Stewart went to Sir William Ker, showed him testimonials to her son's good character and interceded with him in vain. She went away cursing and threatening, and on several occasions within the next few weeks was heard uttering imprecations and praying that God's malison should 'light upon them that had put her to that trouble.' On March 25 God's malison did light upon Sir William in the shape of a fire and explosion of gunpowder in his house, which totally destroyed it. Patrick on hearing of it said it would not have happened if he had been free; he would have cleansed the country of the Gypsies!

More arrests followed; and on May 11 William Walker, Patrick Faa, Mabel Stirling, Mary Faa, Jean Ross, Elspeth Lindsay, Joseph Wallace, John Fenwick, Jean Yorstoun, Mary Robertson, Janet Wilson, and Janet Stewart were all placed on trial at Jedburgh for fire raising and being notorious Egyptians. Fenwick was proved to be in the habit of going about with Gypsies, but not to belong to them. Janet Stewart and William Walker were not convicted of going about in troops, and they with Mary Robertson were acknowledged to have a residence, though no employment. Mary Faa claimed to support herself by making cords, shearing in harvest, and spinning wool. Mary Robertson began to say that she had been led away by bad company, but a cough from Fenwick stopped her from saying more. Not that it seems to have been much use to say anything, as they were all condemned. Janet Stewart was sentenced to be scourged through Jedburgh on an early Saturday, receiving four stripes at the West Port, four at the Cross, and four at the Town-foot; then she was to be taken back to the prison for three days, and then to have her left ear nailed to a post at the Town Cross for three quarters of an hour. Patrick Faa was also sentenced to be scourged, put in the pillory, and to lose both ears; and he and the rest were to be transported to America. According to the *Memorabilia of the City of Glasgow*, the party were transported in the ship 'Greenock' at the cost of £13.

Of these names the most interesting is that of Fenwick, as this is unattested as a Gypsy name except for the execution of a Fen-

wicke at Durham in 1592.¹ But perhaps it is worth pointing out that if, as is probable, it should be pronounced Fenik or Finik, it is very similar to the Finco of an early Scottish record,² and indeed to Finch too, which is found at an early date as the name of a Norwood Gypsy queen.

III.—A NINTH BULGARIAN GYPSY FOLK-TALE

Recorded by BERNARD GILLIAT-SMITH

Introduction

This tale is very complete. The *Muxtiskeri Paramisi* laughed at the Moslem Muftis. This story is told to make fun of the clergymen of the Orthodox Church.

One point seems to me worthy of note. It may not be a feature of the tale peculiar to the Gypsy point of view. It is more likely characteristic of most of the primitive peoples of South-eastern Europe. It is this: that the Gypsy man's escapade with the clergyman's wife is not felt to be, as would certainly be the case in the West, an act of infidelity nor one such as should rightly provoke the just wrath of the Gypsy girl. On the contrary, she helps him carry out his design, herself entraps the clergyman's wife, herself fetches the candles. And note that we are led to understand that perfect harmony reigns between the Gypsy couple from the first, and that the Gypsy's design is conceived and carried out with the express object of avenging his wife's honour, which had been sullied by the clergyman's daring to make remarks to her about the whiteness and plumpness of her legs. The Gypsy girl seems to argue thus: '*Anastin!* The *rašái* makes advances to me! *Wallahi!* My *rom* shall treat *his* wife in the same way!'

It will be noticed that the Romani text is very pure. This is to a large extent owing to the fact that Pashi Suljoff translated the not infrequent Bulgarian (not Turkish this time) interpolations into such beautiful and spontaneous Romani of his own, that I felt warranted in inserting them as though they were the original text, and in omitting the Bulgarian sentences, which would be of little interest to most readers. I will give one example of how Pashi Suljoff's translations are, from the point of view of the student of Romani, better than the originals. The Bulgarian *I, mao, što ti sg belí i debéli krakáta* would be literally translated into Romani, and not ungrammatically at that, by *I, boriže, so si túke parné thai thulé čangá*, whereas Pashi rendered the sentence thus: *I, boriže, so sinján parné-čanggengeri thai thulé-čanggengeri*.

O PÓPOS (O RAŠÁI)

1. *Isiné jek rom thai jek romní; bešen ándo gav. O rom-da si kováči. Uxtint jek javin i romní t'ikalél e gurumnjén, te mukél ándo guruvá. Vazdinjás pe pačádes i romní, te nakjél jek váda (tsíkni len, kai thávdel pant). Dikhél o rašái e*

TRANSLATION

1. There was a Gypsy man and a Gypsy woman; they live in the village. And the Gypsy is a blacksmith. The woman arose one morning to lead out the cows, to let them stray among the bulls. The woman lifted up her skirts to cross a

¹ J. G. L. S., Old Series, i. 20.

² Cf. MacRitchie, p. 37.

romnjákere čangá. O rašái phenél: "I, boríje, so sinján parné-čangéngerí thai thulé-čangéngerí!" *Lel-pes i romní, gelí-peske.* "Řóma! Te díkhés, o pópos phenél mánge: 'I, boríje, so sinján parné-čangéngerí thai thulé-čangéngerí!'"

2. O rom phenél: "E, romníje, našti ne-li phenés: 'I, dáde, egá t'ovén te menjáte!' Te phúšla o pópos: 'Kána, boríje?' phen léske: 'Kána mangés.'"

3. O rašái: "Beljáke ašti-li, boríje?" "Ovél, Dáde."

4. *Gelí-peske i romní.* "E, romníje, vakerghján?" "Vakerghjóm léske. Phušljás man kána t'aavél. Me phenghjóm léske: 'Beljáke.'" O rom phenél: "Dža, te mangés mánge katár o pópos dui šel lévja, te phenés kai kadžáv tergovjáte."

5. *Gelí i romní, vakerghjás e popóske.* O pópos phenél: "Bichál les paš mánde." Geló o rom ko pópos, ko rašái. "Lači blel, Devléskoro manúš." "Te del tut i lači blel, Hasáne." O pópos phenél: "Kiti lovéntsa kakerés tergovja?" "Abé Dáde, de man trin šel lévja." Liljás o rom trin šel lévja. "Táchos Devlésa, Devléskoro manúš." "But sastipé t'igál túke, Hasáne."

6. *Lel-pes o rom, geló-peske.* "Romníje, liljóm léstar trin šel lévja. Beljáke kamavél. Te phúšla mánge—'kai geló Hasán?'—tu te phenés: 'Geló tergovjáte.'"

7. Džal o pópos pe dasnjáke, pe gadžjáke. "Gadžtíje, te kerés mánge jek bokolí, kai vikínen man ko bolipé." Uχtjél i

stream (a little river where water flows). The priest sees the woman's legs. The priest says: 'Heigh, damsel, how white your legs are, how fat your legs are!' The woman betook herself, went. 'Husband! See, the minister says to me: "Heigh, damsel, how white your legs are and how fat!"'

2. The husband says: 'Eh, wife, can you not say to him: "O father, would that they were round your neck!" If the minister asks: "When, damsel?" tell him: "When you wish."'

3. The priest: 'Can I this evening, damsel?' 'I consent, father.'

4. The woman went. 'Well, wife, have you spoken?' 'I told him. He asked me when he should come. I told him, "In the evening."' The Gypsy says: 'Go, beg for me from the minister two hundred levs, and say that I shall go a' trading.'

5. The woman went, told the minister. The minister says: 'Send him to me.' The Gypsy went to the minister, to the priest. 'Good evening, man of God.' 'May He give you a good evening, Hassan.' The minister says: 'With how much money will you trade?' 'Heigh, father, give me three hundred levs.' The Gypsy took three hundred levs. 'Remain with God, man of God.' 'Much health attend you, Hassan.'

6. The Gypsy betakes himself, went. 'Wife, I have taken from him three hundred levs. He will come in the evening. Should he ask after me,—"Where is Hassan gone?"—tell him: "He has gone a' trading."'

7. The minister goes to his Bulgarian, his wife. 'Woman, make me a cake, for

dasní, kerél i bokólt, dinjás la; tsidinjás o pópos právo ki romní.

8. *Ko pórtés tak tak čalavél. Ikistili i romní. "Ko sinján tu?" "Táine, boríje, me sinjóm." Phuterél o pórtés i romní, del andré o pópos. Nángilo pi féredža. Umblavél-la. Rassiví-sájlo, o pópos. Hékje okotár i romní alt. O pópos e romnjáke: "Háde boríje-be, sar si javín!" I romní phenél: "E, Dáde, i rat amari si!"*

9. *Hékje okotár o rom ko pórtés čalavél. O pópos hai-tamám uxťjél te džal te dikhél ko pórtés ko marél, i romní phenél: "Beš, Dáde, beš, me kadžáv." Gelí i romní, phuterghjás o pórtés. O rom láke: "Hi, romníje, te dav mindžé te dajá, sóske na dinján man godí te lav jek rovli ta te čhináv ráboši. Ne-li trébe so kaláv, so kabikináv, te gonínáv smétka?" Dikhljás o rom e popós ándi odája. "Lašt blel, Devléskoro manúš." "Sastipé te del o Del, Hasáne." "Beš-ta, beš-ta," phenél o rom e popóske. "Romníje! Uxťi-ta, thov manje ándi kakávi xarí paní te táťjol, thai ikál-ta o ustrás."*

10. *O pópos liljás te molínel-pes e roméske: "Hasáne, ma ker mántsa čoká! Te muřavés man, ne-li tsálo gav kaasán manje?" O rom phenél: "E, pópe, tu me romnjá manglján buljé te des, pále me tut kamuráváv." "Amán, Hasáne, molínáv-man túke; me te kerghjóm, tu ma ker, khanelipé!" Lel o rom, muřavél e*

they call me to a baptism.' The Bulgarian wife arises, makes a cake, gave it; the minister went straightway to the Gypsy woman.

8. At the door he knocks, tak tak. The Gypsy woman came out. 'Who are you?' 'Hush, damsel, it is I.' The Gypsy woman opens the door, the minister goes in. He took off his cassock. He hangs it up. He made himself comfortable, the minister. Behold the Gypsy woman came. The minister to the woman: 'Well, damsel, how early it is!' The woman answers: 'Heigh, father, the night is ours!'

9. Behold the Gypsy man knocks at the door. The minister scarcely gets up to see who is knocking at the door when the woman says: 'Sit down, father, sit down, I will go.' The woman went, opened the door. Her husband says to her: 'Hi, wife, may I violate your mother, because you did not remind me to take a stick that I might cut notches. Is it not necessary that I should keep account of what I take (buy) and what I sell?' The Gypsy saw the minister in the room. 'Good evening, man of God.' 'May God give health, Hassan.' 'Sit down, sit down,' says the Gypsy to the minister. 'Wife, arise, put me a little water into the kettle to boil, and get out the razor.'

10. The minister began to beseech the Gypsy: 'Hassan, do not do that way with me! If you shave me, will not the whole village laugh at me?' The Gypsy says: 'Eh, minister, you desired to know my wife, now I shall shave you.' 'Pity, Hassan, I beseech you; though I did, do not do likewise, a dirty trick!' The Gypsy sets to work, shaves the minister, makes him young. The minister sits on one side, it is not to be recognized that he is a priest.

popós, kerél les ternó. Bešél o pópos rigáte, na pendžárgjhovel kai si pópos.

11. "*Řomníje,*" o rom phenél, "te džas, te vikínes e popadítja." *Geli i romní:* "Popadítje, popadítje, éla aménde; te bešás te katás, te kerás sedénkja, mo rom geló droméste ta sinjóm kórkori." *I popadítja phenél:* "O pópos-da geló ko bolibé, me-da sinjóm kórkori."

12. *Liljás-pes i popadítja e romnjása; tsidindé, hem avén hem xoratínen. Bešté te mýtren-pes. I romní phenél:* "Popadítja, váreso si túke bangó." *I popadítja phučél:* "E, so si, boriče?" "I minč si túke bangí." *I popadítja phučél:* "E ko k'opravínel la, boriče?" *I romní phenél:* "Mo rom k'opravínel la." "E, sar k'opravínel la?" "Sar-li? Ov si kováči, k'opravínel la."

13. *Gelé othé. So te dikhél i popadítja? E popós na pendžarél, kai si muřavdó. A o pópos pe dasnjá pendžarél, amá táinjel, na xoratínel lása, ladžál kai si muřavdó. O rom phenél:* "Dža-ta, te an dúi momeljá." *Geli i romní, anghjás doné momeljá. Lel o rom, thovél andé popóskoro dúi-da vastá po jek momeli. Dolél o rom e popadítja, pašjarél, buljé del; a o pópos svetínel léngje e momeljéntsa, te dikhjol pó-šukar e roméske sar te del buljé e popadítja. Dinjás la buljé!*

14. *Bešté si. Ni o pópos xoratínel, ni i popadítja xoratínel. O pópos pe dasnjá pendžarél, a i dasní e popós našti pendžarél*

11. 'Wife,' the Gypsy says, 'go and call the minister's wife.' The woman went: 'Minister's wife, minister's wife, come to us; let us sit and spin and keep vigil, my husband has gone on the road, and I am alone.' The minister's wife says: 'The minister too has gone to a baptism, and I am alone also.'

12. The minister's wife betook herself with the Gypsy woman; they went, and as they come they talk. They sat down to make water. The Gypsy woman says: 'Minister's wife, you have got something crooked.' The minister's wife asks: 'Well, what is it, damsel?' 'Your *minč* is crooked.' The minister's wife asks: 'Eh, who will straighten it, damsel?' The Gypsy woman says: 'My husband will straighten it.' 'And how will he straighten it?' 'How indeed? He is a blacksmith, he will straighten it.'

13. They went there. What does the minister's wife see? She does not recognize the minister, for he is shaved. On the other hand the minister recognizes his wife, but he is silent, he does not speak with her, he is ashamed because he is shaved. The Gypsy says: 'Go, fetch two candles.' The Gypsy woman went, brought two candles. The Gypsy takes them, puts them one apiece into the minister's two hands. The Gypsy seizes the minister's wife, makes her lie down, embraces her; and the minister lights them with the candles that one may the better see the Gypsy as he is embracing the minister's wife. He embraced her!

14. They are seated. Neither the minister speaks, nor the minister's wife speaks. The minister recognizes his wife, but the wife cannot recognize the minister, because he is shaved. They started to go away. The minister and the

kai isti muravdó. Tsidindé te džan-peske. O pópos thai i popadítja hem džan hem xoratínen. Kána i popadítja: "Abe dédo, pópe, tu-li sinján?" "Táinje, gadžtje, táinje!" "Abé dédo, pópe, ko muraghjás tut?" O pópos phenél: "Táinje, gadžtje, táinje; ko tut buljé dinjás, ov-da man muraghjás."

15. *Akaná ni si o pópos láke t'arakhjél máxana, ni si i popadítja e popóske t'arakhjél máxana.*

ORADÁ MASÁL, BURADÁ SALÍK.
(OTHÉ PARAMÍSI, ATHÉ SASTIPÉ).

minister's wife both walk and talk. Now the minister's wife: 'But father, minister, is it you?' 'Silence, woman, silence!' 'But father, minister, who shaved you?' The minister says: 'Silence, woman, silence; he who embraced you, 'twas he who shaved me.'

15. Now neither is the minister in a position to find fault with (revile) her, nor is the minister's wife in a position to revile the minister.

There 's the Tale, Here 's your Health.

NOTES TO THE TEXT.

§ 1. *Vazdinjds pe paéddes* . . . I am not sure whether the writing *vázdav* instead of *vázdav* is not the more correct of the two. I was formerly misled by the similarity in sound to the Bulgarian proposition *vǎz*, 'towards,' 'against.' A recent visit to Sofia gave me the opportunity of seeing Pashi Suljoff again, and of hearing him pronounce the word with a distinct *a*. Paspati has *lázdava*, and Miklosich compares the word with Kurdish *vazdén'a*. *Paéddes*: Greek plural of loan-word, Turk. *pača*.

§ 8. *Rasširisdjlo* . . . one of the very few loan-words in this tale. Bulg. *rasširǎvam* 'I stretch out,' Romani *rasširǎnav-man*, and past tense passive formation (middle voice) as from a *sar* stem; hence *rasširisdjlo* for *rasširisdnilo*.

§ 13. *te dikhjol pó-šukar e ǵoméske* . . . Perhaps the right translation may be: 'that it may seem all the nicer to the Gypsy.' *Dikhjovel* does mean 'to seem,' Turkish *görmek*, Bulg. *viǵda-se*.

§ 15. *láke t'arakhjél máxana* . . . Perhaps Turk.-Arab. *mexanel* 'vilifying.'

IV.—BALKAN NOTES

By ANDREAS

(1.) ATHENIAN GYPSIES

A GYPSY orchestra played nightly in the Panhellenion Restaurant; but the younger musicians, though they recognized Romani when they heard it, did not speak the language; and the older members of the band knew, I think, but little more than the younger. In the Balkans, where one expects to find real wild Gypsies, these people were too civilized to be worth cultivating. Yet it seemed at first that they were, as everybody assured me, the only Gypsies in Athens; for I scoured the streets of the city for three days and found no others.

Then by good fortune I met an Englishman, Mr. T. E. Blackburne, who remembered to have seen, about a month before, an encampment near the Botanical Gardens. He directed me to take tram No. 10, and dismount at the point where it crosses the railway; and I resolved that on the next day, May 7, 1913, which was to be the last of my stay at the Piræus, I would make a final effort to discover Greek Gypsies. I found tram No. 10 without difficulty; but as I was on the point of stepping in, it suddenly occurred to me that the car might be on its return, and not on its outward journey: and as I hesitated the bell rang and it passed round a corner out of sight. I stood, rather stupidly, wondering what to do, when suddenly guidance was sent in the form of a curious coincidence. I heard a voice at my elbow, and looking down saw an unmistakably Gypsy girl asking leave in Greek to tell my fortune. She was accompanied by an older woman and both were dressed in clothes that were spotlessly clean, and brilliant with red, yellow and blue colour. To their no small amazement I addressed them in Romani: but they did not receive me as a brother. On the contrary they began immediately to beg; and though we talked until a disconcerting crowd collected, and though they followed me for a long distance, I was obliged to escape into a restaurant without even having obtained an answer to my reiterated question: 'Where do you live?'

After lunch I searched the district Mr. Blackburne had indicated, a half-built suburb, in which many streets had been laid out and named, but few houses built. Possible camp-sites were abundant, but I found neither tents, nor even the tokens of recent fires, and was obliged to retrace my way disconsolately towards the centre of the town. I had not walked a third of the distance when I met three young Gypsy women, as gaily dressed as my first acquaintances, strolling leisurely along and evidently returning home. Mindful of my morning's experience, I passed them without speaking; and then, turning, followed in their steps until they reached an isolated group of houses and vanished.

A knot of Gypsy children playing in the street indicated that I was in a small Gypsy quarter¹ or *mahala*, though the houses

¹ To reach this place the visitor should alight from the tram where it crosses the railway, and, while still facing the Botanical Gardens, turn to the right and walk along the line. The *mahala* will then be found on the left of the line and at a distance of about two hundred yards from it.

were made of ordinary bricks and mortar and altogether unlike the Gypsy huts of tin or mud I saw afterwards in other parts of the Balkans. Through one of the buildings passed an arched carriage-way, closed by high wooden doors, and near it an ancient dame was sitting. To her I spoke. She exhibited no surprise, nor did she even trouble to answer; but beckoning with a lean finger led me silently within the gates. I found myself in a large courtyard with a well in the centre, but whether completely enclosed, or not, I did not notice. On the right were several dark brown tents, not very large; and, on the left, a row of little houses, into the first of which I was invited.

It seemed to consist of a single room, three walls of which contained no openings, both door and window being in the fourth. It was perfectly clean and carpeted with good rugs, and the bedding was stacked neatly in a corner and covered with a pure white counterpane. The family, seated on the floor eating a meal from a little low round table, included my host, who was a vendor of carpets and, if his word could be trusted, a great traveller, his wife and three children, as well as the old lady; but so many others crowded in to see me, that it was difficult to distinguish the real tenants of the house from the visitors. The men wore ordinary clothes with soft felt hats; and the women, in addition to the brightly coloured dresses I have mentioned already, had numerous small gold coins in their hair, not in the plaits, but above the forehead, and they stained their hands and nails with henna. Of their dialect I cannot, of course, speak: but they used *in* for 'not,' *kazom* for 'how many,' and, I am almost sure, *teráva* for 'I have.'

My welcome was unexpectedly cordial and enthusiastic: all rose to greet me, shaking hands warmly. My host sent for a chair, and when I refused it, seated me on a pile of cushions with covers so beautifully embroidered that, dusty from my walk, I was ashamed to use them. Then they invited me to share their meal, the old dame taking up a position on my right hand and feeding me with a fork, selecting tit-bits from the dish, while my host on the left continually passed up a tumbler of wine which he never allowed to become empty. Unaccustomed to such regal state I was somewhat overwhelmed—almost overwhelmed too by the quantity of meat and drink they expected me to consume, and the rapidity with which they presented it. Hardly had I half-masticated one morsel than another was waiting before my mouth: scarcely had I swallowed one draught before the glass

refilled rose as though mechanically before my eyes. And at last I had to declare in unmistakably clear terms that the process of stuffing must cease, and with many protests the table and the remains of the meal were cleared away.

Then the door was opened and all the Gypsies of the *mahala*, who had been scrimmaging at the window for a look, filed in, gazed, shook hands and departed; and I found myself holding a formal reception. Who or what I was taken to be, and why I was considered worthy of so much honour, I never discovered; but it was obvious that I was counted, at the least, a very curious phenomenon. And the musicians established themselves in a corner—a man who played sweet eastern melodies on a clarinet and a handsome lad with a little double drum—and girls of surpassing beauty, the most perfect Gypsy types I have ever seen, danced stately oriental measures in the centre of the crowded room, while a dense mass of onlookers, unable to obtain admission, struggled and jostled at the door and window. And when the exhausted musicians stopped, I pressed coins to their foreheads amid loud applause.

Suddenly and without apparent reason a violent quarrel began. The family who were entertaining me proclaimed loudly that the rest of the tribe were thieves: and the rest of the tribe retorted no less loudly in a similar sense. My host begged me to remain sitting and take no notice of so insignificant an affair; and he and his relations began to eject their offensive neighbours. But the spell was broken. Anything that might have happened afterwards would have seemed spiritless and dreary after what had already passed, and I insisted on saying farewell and leaving, not without an honourable escort, the house and the *mahala*.

(2.) GYPSIES IN SALONIKA

The political situation in Salonika on May 9-12, 1913, the date of my visit, was intensely interesting; the town was under military government and the streets were so crowded with soldiers that one seemed to be crossing a barrack-square just after a battalion parade had been dismissed. But I had not come to study Balkan politics: to see Gypsies was my object; and it seemed as though it might be difficult to find them amid the disturbance and bustle of military preparation. But, fortunately for me, Gypsies swarm in Salonika. The tall dark man who carries your bag is probably

a Gypsy: so is the swarthy boy who blacks your boots: and it is ten to one, if you sit at a table in front of a café, that a Gypsy woman will accost you within five minutes. But when I landed I had no bag to carry, and I wanted neither to have my boots polished nor to sit in a café; and so the first Gypsies I saw were two little girls in the principal street, who giggled when I addressed them in Romani, and clung to one another, too shy to answer. Soon afterwards, seeking a place in which to lunch, I met them again with their mother, who carried a baby in the folds of her cloak. A fragile-looking woman with refined features and a hauntingly pathetic expression, she was sitting on the steps of a restaurant eating a plate of *yoghúrt*, and I paused to speak with her. But she, too, was uncommunicative. She watched me enter, waited awhile, and then departed. She must have spread the news of my arrival, for almost immediately three characteristically Gypsy men, the pads on whose backs proclaimed them porters, took up a position of advantage opposite the window near which I sat, and eyed me curiously as I ate. Lunch finished, I went out and spoke to them. But it seemed impossible to extract anything from them except laughter: every sentence convulsed them with merriment, and their mirth was so noisy that a crowd soon collected. Crowds are forbidden in cities under military rule, and I was glad when, having at last persuaded one of the Gypsies to tell me that they lived in *Tšair Mahala* (Meadow Quarter), I was able to escape.

That afternoon I went with two friends, one of whom was Captain R. E. Jepson of the steamship *Foylemore*, in which I was travelling, to seek the *mahala*. We found it at the west end of the town, beyond the 'rag,' and, as usual, not far from the municipal refuse-heap. It consisted of some three hundred houses or huts, arranged in one long and rather crooked street, down the centre of which ran an open gutter, the main drain of the village. This gutter was the only unsavoury thing in the whole quarter: the houses themselves, both inside and out, were attractively clean. Most of them were built with a framework of laths and reeds, plastered with mud and white-washed. The roofs of all, and the walls of some, were made of flattened kerosene tins. Many were effectively decorated with red and blue lines, and a few householders had attempted more ambitious conventional floral patterns. No furniture was to be seen even in the smith's house, which showed signs of superior wealth and was separated from the road by a neat

little yard, on one side of which stood the smithy. But the mats on the floor and the tidy stacks of white bedding were so scrupulously clean, that, most unexpectedly, the general impression left after our visit was one of airiness and freshness.

I had then no opportunity of becoming acquainted with the inhabitants. They were Mohammedans and did not beg at all; but, on this occasion, almost every person I addressed pretended to know no Romani.

When I revisited the *mahala* the next afternoon (Sunday) I met, as I came near, a very drunk Gypsy who answered me in his own tongue when I spoke to him; and as we conversed, I noticed at the extreme end of the village a group of ragged tents made from dilapidated sacks. I approached one in which a party of Gypsies were talking, and after watching them for a few moments, spoke to the occupants in Romani, and was immediately invited to enter and sit down upon the litter of unclean rags with which the ground was covered. They were friendly folk and unsuspicious; and we talked long and pleasantly while a crowd collected at the mouth of the tent and gazed at the unusual sight. Many of the women were tattooed on the forehead—one, for instance, bore a mark like a very short-pronged trident—and they were so keenly interested in my tattooing that I was obliged to take off my coat and waistcoat several times in order to exhibit it. Then we went outside and sat in a circle while the women made a fire and brewed me a cup of coffee, though nobody else drank; and the head of the family bought *yoghúrt* from a peddler and gave me to eat, though nobody else ate, and becoming somewhat embarrassed by so much hospitality, I rose to take my leave.

A young man accompanied me to set me on my way, and I invited him to prolong his walk as far as the first house of the town, which happened to be a little inn. It was a holiday, and tables were set outside at which many people were sitting, and gay parties drove by on their way to the country, often carrying with them in the carriage an instrument similar to a street-piano, but without wheels, and gaudily decorated with pictures, paper festoons and tinsel. Such a hurdy-gurdy halted near us, and was engaged by a group of Turkish lads to make music for their dances, the most admired of which was a sort of William Tell performance. One youth stood motionless with a small cup balanced on his head, while another danced round him brandishing a sword-bayonet, borrowed from a soldier, within an inch of his face, until at

last with a great sweep of the weapon, he smashed the cup to atoms.

A very dark soldier, a fine strong man in a Servian uniform, sat at our table; and, as we watched the dancing and talked, it seemed to me that he listened attentively and that there was a suspicious glitter of intelligence in his eyes. Three several times did I accuse him of being a Gypsy, and three several times did he assume a vacant look and shake his head as if he did not understand. But after, perhaps, an hour, he suddenly and without explanation joined in the conversation. He was a Servian conscript, Živóí Búrskovitš, married, the father of three children, and the owner of a house and land near Ub, two horses and three cows. Poor fellow, he was tired of the war and very homesick, and had sought out the *mahala* in order to hear his own language spoken. He expected to be released from service almost immediately; but Balkan politics took a new turn, and I fear that he remained with the colours, unless—which Heaven forbid!—a sadder fate overtook him.

We were joined by an elder brother of my first friend, and the four of us went for a walk in the crowded streets of the town, drinking much beer and calling for a meal at the most revolting little eating-shop I have ever entered. The viands, all horrible and oily, were exhibited on a dirty fly-infested counter near the door. Being famished I took the least sickening dish I could find, plain macaroni; but the Gypsies did not hesitate to choose fishes' heads and meat that looked like entrails. It was a wretched finale for so delightful a day. I fear I sulked: at all events it was a glad relief when the soldier guided me back to the ship.

He was waiting for me on the quay the next morning with a request that I would write a postcard for him to his wife, and we revisited the *mahala*. In the middle of the village, standing alone, is a *gadžo*-like building, large by comparison with the Gypsy houses, which while serving the purposes of an inn seems also to be used as headquarters by the police. There we sat and drank, and caused the policeman to drink. And presently a man, who was described as a Bulgar, came with his ass, and on the ass's back the carcase of a sheep which he hung to a tree and offered for sale. But the Gypsies poked it with their fingers and smelt it, and departed scornfully with much laughter. And the policeman laughed too; and I laughed when it was explained to me that the animal had not been slaughtered but had died a natural death. But the Bulgar did not laugh. Two gendarmes came and took him, and his ass,

and his dead sheep, away to prison. And it seemed legitimate to draw a conclusion: namely, that the Bulgar knew his market, and that, but for the gendarmes, he would have found, even among those scornful Gypsies who poked the meat with their fingers and departed laughing, customers who would have bought and eaten his *mulano mas*.

Then, after visiting a tiny Gypsy café where we were cross-examined about the condition of Gypsies in Servia and Great Britain, the soldier took me to see his camp near the harbour, and so to the steamship *Foylemore*, waving me a hearty farewell as the vessel put to sea.

At the opposite end of Salonika, beyond the town, there is also a *mahala*, but of Christian Gypsies, and much smaller than the Mohammedan colony. I visited it with friends, and the presence of strangers had the usual effect: the Gypsies resolutely pretended neither to speak nor understand their own language until some mischievous little children, unable to control their facial muscles, betrayed them. My friends demanded music and dancing, and after a short delay a bass drum and a broken clarinet, ill-mended with twine, were produced with two men to play them, and four others who danced a country dance hand-in-hand. It was a dull spiritless performance, much less entertaining than the scramble for money when it was ended. We found two Turkish ladies in the camp, seeking to engage a housemaid; for the women of this tribe work as domestic servants. The children begged dreadfully, and some of them followed us fully a mile, when we came away, leaving us occasionally to avoid a policeman, but always returning to renew their importunity.

(3.) A 'TURKISH SCANDAL'

Osman Osmanoff, *tşeribaşı* of the Varna Gypsies, had bidden Gilliat-Smith and myself to a *şenlik* (merry-making) on Sunday evening, May 18, 1913, just four days after my arrival in the town. We had doubted—I know not why—the sincerity of his invitation, and it was nearly seven o'clock when we returned from a ramble in the fresh green woods to find that melancholy Yusuf had been waiting an hour, sent to remind us of our engagement by Osman, who seems also to have had his doubts about the sincerity of our acceptance. Yusuf is a nomad Zagundži whose apparent means of livelihood is the relation of his family misfortunes, the greatest of

which, the ill-health of his baby, his neighbours attribute to a diet of *muli kaini*. Unlike other Zagundzis he is a dispiriting companion, and, perhaps for this reason, we delayed an hour and ate a meal at the Consulate before accompanying him to Osman's café.

Osman's café, the town-hall of the Gypsy *mahala*, is a little low room about eighteen feet square, with small windows in three of the walls, the fourth being a party-wall of another house or room. At a corner next this party-wall is the door, and, close to it, the cash-box, behind which stands Osman's throne, a narrow wooden platform raised high above the ground, just large enough to accommodate the *tšeribaši*, or his deputy, sitting cross-legged. Beyond this throne, against the party-wall and reaching to the back of the room, is the most honourable seat, a much larger though lower platform covered with matting. Behind a partition screen, in the corner diagonally opposite the door, is the kitchen: a fire of wood-charcoal with tiny saucepans (*džezves*), each just large enough to make one cup of coffee, shelves on which are ranged glasses and little handleless cups, and a great earthenware vase of water half-buried in the ground. To the right of the door as one enters is a bench, in front of which stands a small table with a couple of stools; and, between this bench and the kitchen, there is a platform similar to the more honourable seat opposite. The walls and ceiling are whitewashed and undecorated, and the floor is simply the bare earth hardened by much traffic.

The café was almost empty, but Osman was there to receive us with his usual courtesy, and place us on the platform close to the throne. But first he sent to his house for a rug on which we might sit; and later, when with the solicitude of a conscientious host, he noticed our discomfort, he caused large cushions to be brought. His suavity and politeness to us were in strong contrast with the ultra-emphasis or violence of his communications to his subjects. Belonging to a different tribe, and speaking a slightly different dialect, not tall, wiry rather than muscular, not even rich, it could only have been intellectual superiority that raised him to the dignity of *tšeribaši* of a *mahala* of 180 houses, a position officially recognized by the government. Such a post is not necessarily permanent—the Gypsies of Baltšik recently petitioned Mr. Džeko Džekoff, the Prefect of Varna, to depose their chief, and he directed them to choose another—and Osman

has his critics and opponents.¹ In consequence, he evidently feels it necessary to keep a tight grip over the people he governs. When he speaks, it is generally to address the whole company: when he commands silence, they scarce dare draw breath. He is eloquent and persuasive, delights in oriental platitudes, and often expresses what he has to say in the form of a parable. Nor does he neglect to use theatrical devices to give emphasis to his words: he gesticulates freely; at critical parts of the argument his restless eyes seem to start from their bony sockets; and once we saw him drive home a point by raising a heavy stool above his head, and flinging it with all his force upon the floor. Unconsciously following the precept of Machiavelli, he chooses to be feared rather than loved. If we entered the *mahala* alone we were at once exasperated by a flock of begging children and importunate women; but if Osman were with us, nobody dared approach: and a word spoken by him publicly was more than enough to counteract hopes of gain, and prevent any of his subjects from accompanying me in my journey across Bulgaria. He is certainly a great ruler: but the very qualities that make him great make him a little disappointing as a Gypsy—he has none of the bewitching levity of his race.

The company arrived gradually, each man saluting us respectfully as he passed, until there were well over a hundred persons crowded into the little room. Women, of course, never enter Osman's café: in that respect, at any rate, he is a strict Mohammedan. For costume they wore blue Turkish trousers decorated with black braid, or the brown trousers of Bulgarian peasants a girdle generally red, sometimes an effectively braided coat or waistcoat, a brightly patterned shirt, a fez, and in the case of the older or more important men a turban. Osman himself was conspicuous by reason of his official astrakhan cap or *kalpak*. Many had clothes that were almost new; while others, and particularly the Zagundžis, wore splendidly picturesque rags, and wore them with grace and dignity. The very patches on their shirts—and often the restorations were more conspicuous than the attenuated remains of the original garment—were singularly brilliant, for the added pieces never matched the original material. I like to think that the kaleidoscopic effect produced was evidence

¹ Balkan thrones are rickety, and it is not surprising, though rather sad, that three months after this was written both these potentates fell. Osman has lost his little kingdom and Mr. Džeko Džekoff his prefecture.

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THE BLIND SINGER FROM RUSTCHUK



ZAGUNDŽIS: METI AND SIBILLA

Photographs by B. Gilliat-Smith.

of good taste rather than a mere symptom of poverty. And, if they were dirty, they were soiled by kindly oriental dust, which resembles rather the dry powder one sees on labourers in flour mills or bakehouses than the filthy adhesive grime we distill from black coal in our great British cities.

But the Zagundžis ventured not upon the honourable platform where Osman had placed us. We were surrounded by the house-dwelling elders: venerable old gentlemen with serious mien and courtly manners, who, until the attractions of the dancing became irresistible, sat politely facing us. Little cups of coffee and little glasses of tea were handed round by a boy, Osman's servant, and occasionally beggars drifted in, wedged their way with difficulty through the room, and took up collections. Then the blind singer from Rustchuk began to sing, almost with tears, the pathetic *Conte du Pont* of which Paspatis printed a wretched version, accompanying himself on a sort of lute, played like a mandoline with a plectrum.¹ But nobody gave him much attention: the audience had assembled to witness comedy, not to listen to pathos: they talked eagerly one with another, and the atmosphere was tense with suppressed excitement. And presently the old man's song was cut short by the arrival of the dancers.

They were four in number, of whom two had prepared themselves for the performance merely by blacking their faces and stripping to the waist, but wore ordinary Bulgarian trousers. One brandished a heavy wooden stick with a cord attached to both ends like a bowstring. A third man was more elaborately clothed in brown garments which were fantastically ragged and decorated with a huge artificial rose at the breast. His face also was blackened, and he carried a rough bow slung across his back, as well as a small glass bottle in his girdle. The fourth dancer was a wan youth wearing rather long hair and dressed like a girl in a dark purple velvet dress with a white lace collar. Later in the evening, he removed the velvet costume, which he was evidently afraid of spoiling, and appeared in a simple gown of white cotton, spotted with red, reaching to his ankles, under which he wore the bloomers of a Turkish woman and ordinary stockings. It is significant that he was clean shaved, for in this part of the world

¹ The old man had two instruments, a small lute with three, and a larger one with five strings. The latter, I think, was thus tuned: bass, two strings in unison; a single string a fifth above the bass; and two strings in unison, as *chanterelles*.

the absence of a moustache means one of two things: either a eunuch who cannot, or an effeminate man who does not wish to grow hair on his face.¹

Before beginning the dance itself the actors stood for a while in the middle of the room, exhibiting themselves, pretending to drink from the bottle, shouting, cracking jokes, and generally playing the fool. According to Osman, the performance we were about to witness was known as a 'Turkish Scandal,' and it should probably be counted among the customs which Gypsies have preserved but not originated. To call it a scandal was to speak as euphemistically as it would be to describe the process of burning alive as rather unpleasant. It was so supremely indecent that many will wonder how we sat it out, and others will doubtless expect to read here a denunciation couched in the strongest possible terms. To such I reply that what would be indecent and disgusting in a drawing-room is often harmless and amusing in a village alehouse, a soldiers' barracks, or a Gypsy camp; and that standards of conventional propriety differ greatly in different parts of the world. The 'Turkish Scandal' was what our friends the Gypsies liked; and they assumed that we would like it too. Uncultivated people, they would probably be deeply shocked—and rightly shocked—by much that they might see in Great Britain; and we who boast a higher civilization need not be ashamed to confess that we were able to take, for that evening, the Gypsy view of things, and enjoy our friends' hospitality. All the details of the entertainment cannot be described conveniently in English; yet, since they have probably ethnological importance, an account of them, translated into Latin by a member of the G.L.S., is added in a footnote.

The dance was performed with tremendous energy by all except the youth, who walked about among his colleagues in a half-hearted, listless way, smiling a forced and meretricious smile. The others circled round the small free space in the middle of the café, with their knees so bent that they were almost crouching on their heels. Clenching their fists, they clapped their elbows rhythmically—even spasmodically—on their ribs, jerking their heads violently from side to side in time with the motions of their arms, and working

¹ There were two other men in the camp attached to Osman's *mahala* who habitually wore female clothing and were reputed pathics. One was the bearded and elderly, but gentle Kız Ali, who told fortunes, sometimes appeared with flowers in his hair, and arranged his tent with a neatness and coquetry that were not masculine. The other we seldom saw. He was likewise elderly, and so hideous that he appeared to be deformed.

their stomachs up and down as in the *danse du ventre*. Gradually they drove themselves to such a pitch of frenzy that their eyes assumed a fixed and savage stare, protruding unnaturally, while their faces and bodies were deluged with sweat. Variations followed. After pretending to drink from the bottle they would draw slowly from their mouths, with violent convulsions, groans, and the simulation of great pain, long strips of vellum, the entrails of some animal. One man stood and danced on another's naked back, and in so doing brought down the stove-chimney with a crash. But most of the incidents were coarsely indecent, and the more indecent the action the louder the applause.¹ The young men laughed gleefully, and the old men rose eagerly from their seats to gaze, gloating and clapping their hands.

The end came, as the end of such performances generally does come, with bathos. A tray was passed round for contributions while the exhausted performers spurred themselves to a last feeble effort, using wooden spoons for castanets. And Osman took us from the stifling little room, guided us ceremoniously across the ditches that separate the *mahala* from the town, and with many polite speeches set us on our homeward way.

In twilight or mist a squalid slum often assumes the grandeur of a cathedral. And now, after the lapse of two months, it seems as though a gentle atmosphere had veiled the gross details of our entertainment, leaving conspicuous only the outlines and colour of a wonderful picture. The dance I have been obliged to describe from notes made immediately after the event: indelibly printed on my memory is the scene in Osman's café—the naked bodies and savage blackened faces in the centre, the tiers of dark eager spec-

¹ Scurra ille pannos ita consutos ut penis brevis sane sed tamen crassissimi speciem redderent sibi subligaverat, et inter saltandum saepius puellam paedicare simulavit. Quoties autem hoc fecit semen in lagenam collectum aliis bibendum obtulit. Mox puellam unius e seminudis hominibus dorso insidentem, cruribus circa collum ejus connexis, per culum inire conatus est scurra, quod tamen prae nimia sedis altitudine efficere non potuit. Dum duo simul, unus solito more a fronte, alter a tergo, puellam inibant, alter subito 'Avilo' exclamavit, quo audito oculos clausit illa, simulque omnia gaudii summi signa ostendit. Tunc unus e seminudis hominibus iotu petitus tanquam mortuus cecidit, humique stratus mansit, quem circum velut ejus obliti ceteri saltaverunt, nec multo post scurra genibus super cadaver flexis puellam paedicat. Ecce autem mortuus ille subito reviviscens penem scurrae dentibus arripere, quem extemplo surgentem et cadaver illud pene suo ceu reste a solo tollentem magno plausu exceperunt omnes; nec minor erat plausus quum (quod semel tantum factum est) unus e coetu puellam basiavit. Saltationibus peractis puella sedem juxta nos cepit, quo facto Osmanus sibi, ut hospiti et praecipua, nobis adjuvantibus, munificentia erga histriones uso, jus puella per noctem insequentem fruendi pertinere joculariter affirmavit. Addidit etiam fore ut ter illam paedicaret.

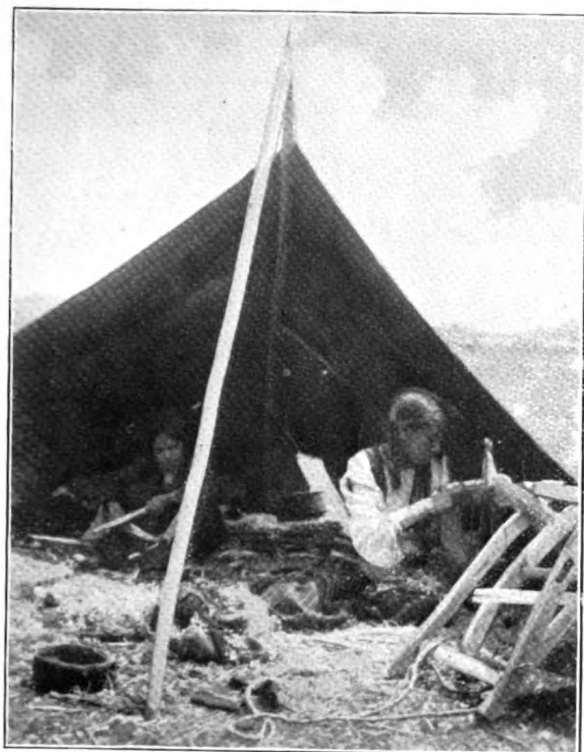
tators surrounding them; the half-lighted heads struggling for a glimpse through the little windows, the ragged standing crowd in the doorway; the whitened walls on which an incandescent oil-lamp threw strong shadows, and the gorgeous colouring of the oriental clothes.

(4.) SPOON-MAKING GYPSIES

About May 19, 1913, during my visit to Gilliat-Smith, some Gypsy spoon-makers (*lingurari*) came to Varna and stayed several days. On the plain to the north of the town, far from Osman's *mahala*, they turned their seven donkeys out to graze and pitched three very small tents, which they moved frequently according to the prevailing wind. The party consisted of an old woman, three young women, an unmarried girl, three men, a lad, about ten children and a baby which was generally slung in a hammock-cradle in one of the tents. A soldier in khaki uniform often worked with them; but whether he belonged to the family or came from the barracks, which were quite near, I never ascertained; it was difficult to communicate with them, for, although they were dark and Gypsylike, they did not understand Romani, but used Rumanian among themselves.

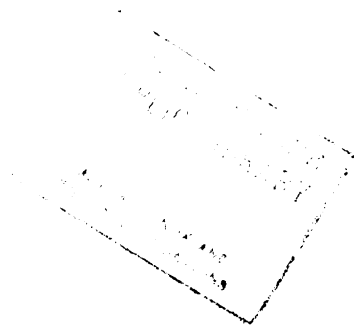
They made spindles, wooden spoons, large wooden ladles, troughs and little wheels or pulleys the use of which I did not discover. They laboured early and late with exemplary diligence, and a man could make a hundred spoons in a day. The women were usually employed in hawking their wares in the town, though the girl often took a turn at one of the lathes. Of these they had three, but they were used only for spindles and pulleys: the spoons were not turned. For this reason they differed from the lathe described by Julius Teutsch (*J. G. L. S.*, iv. 275) in being single-ended, but were, in other respects, precisely similar. His account of their methods also applies exactly to these Gypsies; but I noticed that the old lady softened the wood intended for spoons by boiling it in a tin can, after it had been roughed into shape, and before it was scooped out and finished by the men. They used only two colours for decorating the spindles: a dull red and a bright blue.

When selling in the town they bargained, but at the tents they had fixed prices for their goods, neither bargaining nor asking more than they were willing to accept. For spindles and spoons they charged about the same price: thirty centimes for five.



SPOON-MAKERS

Photographs by Mrs. Gilliat-Smith.



A big wooden ladle cost sixty centimes; and a trough, made of wood hardened by burning, two francs.

Afterwards, near Shumla, when I was travelling with Gypsies, I met other spoon-makers, whom my companions called *rojári*. They too spoke no Romani, but they differed considerably from the Varna party, and the women were distinguished by great brass clasps at the waist. I believe they possessed donkeys; although, on the road, they travelled in long wagons covered with matting and drawn by buffaloes. I saw them, however, but for a moment as we passed, and had no time to study them carefully.

(5.) GYPSIES AT GALATZ, RUMANIA

Galatz is a disappointment for the tsiganologue. Gypsies are reputed to be so numerous in Rumania that it was natural to expect to find a great *mahala* comparable with those in Varna and Salonika. Yet during a stay of nine days (June 10-19, 1913), and after long wanderings in the streets and suburbs, as well as a walk round the whole outskirts of the town, I failed to discover a Gypsy quarter. Even sporadic Gypsy visitors seemed rather rare. A Gypsy band performed, of an evening, in one of the restaurants. The musicians were fat baboo-like men in respectable black clothes, and they did not play particularly well—to tell the truth their execution was generally slovenly. The first to whom I spoke pretended to know no Romani; but, after I had scraped acquaintance with one of his colleagues, he too joined in the conversation without troubling to excuse or explain his previous simulated ignorance of the tongue. And then a marked change came over their music: they seemed inspired, playing wildly and with fire. And the sleek leader stole softly from the seats of the orchestra, approached my table, and taking his violin from under his chin, sang with infinite sweetness a little song in the purest Romani. But my humour was not then for tame caged Gypsies, and I neglected to cultivate the acquaintance of these amiable people.

I met, too, a dark Gypsy boy at the door of a public-house close to the dock-gates, and puzzled his friends and my friends, and the publican as well, by talking with him in a language only he and I could understand. But he was a stranger who had come to Galatz seeking work, and could or would give no information about local Gypsies. Strangers, too, and ignorant of the town, were the ragged members of a party I met in the principal street, who, when I

addressed them in Romani, immediately inquired if I were a thief: and mindful of the stolen hens I had eaten a week before, I answered not untruthfully 'Yes.'

One day, the place was invaded by Gypsy women leading monkeys trained to turn somersaults, and singing songs to the accompaniment of a little drum or tambourine—quaint melodies, the monotony of which became curiously fascinating. I found their camp beyond the town on the Braila road: long wagons covered with matting, and strong cloth tents. But they professed to be Servian Gypsies, and had no Romani. Again, near the station, I stumbled upon a Gypsy family wearing the clean white raiment of Rumanian peasants, bright with red and blue stitching. They were running to catch a train, burdened with things they had bought in the market, and anxiously guiding their pretty children across a road that was dangerous with traffic; and we had time only to exchange greetings.

It was almost by accident that I found, towards the end of my stay, a camp of native Gypsies. The steamship *Foylemore*, on board which, by the kind permission of Messrs. William Johnston & Co. and of Captain R. E. Jepson, I was living, moved from the quay to a timber-yard on the bank of the Danube at the extreme east of the town, beyond the suburb of Badalan. And one day, while strolling in the neighbourhood, I spied, in a hollow behind earth-works which are to form the walls of a new dock, certain structures which, on nearer approach, proved to be the dwellings of half-a-dozen Gypsy families. Apparently they were not altogether sedentary people, for they were well provided with means of transport. Besides ordinary *taligas*, unpainted and rickety, they had long wagons with low wooden roofs, in which some of them slept. Against these were built shelters—they could scarcely be called tents—of ragged matting which did not even reach the ground, and, however satisfactory as a parasol, must have been a wretched protection against wind or rain. They differed from other Gypsy tents in that they had, at the back, a wide platform raised two or three feet on which the male occupants sat cross-legged, while the women cooked, with the usual wood fires and little iron tripod-stools, in front of the tent-mouth. A few young buffaloes were tethered to the wagons, some good horses cropped the scanty grass hard by, and an abundance of poultry wandered throughout the camp.

As I drew near, a boy about twelve years of age rode in bare-

backed on a half-broken and difficult horse, sitting the restive animal magnificently, and managing it with admirable skill. I approached the tent where he had dismounted and found the master, Ahmet Ali (Kostimo), behind the wagon tinning the inside of a copper cooking vessel, while his wife and daughters were occupied with domestic duties. The family were neither dark nor Gypsylike, and, with the exception of Ahmet himself who was handsome, they were rather ugly. Like the other grown men of the tribe, he had a small beard parted in the middle and brushed outwards, and wore ordinary western clothes with a *kalpak*, not a *fez*. This, together with the fact that the women were unveiled and did not dress in bloomers, led me to think that they were Christians. They were, however, professedly Mohammedans, though probably lax observers of their religious duties: one of Ahmet's sons, for instance, a lad of sixteen, ate sausages without hesitation in a restaurant, although Ahmet himself and Ahmet's brother refused them. They told me they had houses in Badalan in which they wintered.

They did not beg at all, and finding them friendly and hospitable, I visited them as often as was possible during the few days that remained of my stay in Galatz. Their dialect differed from most Rumanian Gypsy dialects in that they had not lost the *t* of the sound *tš*. The only words which I noted are the following:—

<i>dévre</i> , times: <i>štar devre</i> , four times. Turk. دور, a turn.	<i>powa</i> , eyebrows.
<i>drab</i> , tobacco.	<i>puro</i> , foot.
<i>džindžiri</i> , chain. Pasp. <i>djandjir</i> .	<i>sta</i> , table. Pasp. <i>siní</i> , <i>sinia</i> .
Turk. زنجیر.	<i>surtuk</i> , coat. Rum. <i>surtuc</i> .
<i>gete</i> , boots (not top-boots). Rum. <i>ghete</i> .	<i>šékir</i> , sugar. Turk. شكر.
<i>gologai</i> , penny (coin of ten bani). Rum. <i>gologan</i> .	<i>šink</i> , finger-nail: pl. <i>šinga</i> .
<i>jelets</i> , waistcoat. Turk. يلك.	<i>šoro</i> , head.
<i>kadaχ</i> , wine-glass. Turk. قدح.	<i>thar</i> , molar tooth: <i>dukhal mi thar</i> . Pasp. <i>tar</i> , gencive.
<i>kotš</i> , knee.	<i>tšank</i> , leg.
<i>kotšak</i> , button.	<i>tšhar</i> , ashes.
<i>kéja</i> , key. Rum. <i>cheie</i> .	<i>tšar</i> , grass.
<i>ozi</i> , viscera.	<i>tšhil</i> , smallpox. Pasp. <i>tchel</i> .
	<i>žeber</i> , pocket. Turk. جيب,
	جب. Pasp. <i>djébba</i> .

Ahmet gave me a specially cordial invitation to go with him,

his brother, one of his sons, and a child, on Whit Monday (Old Style), to a festival at Kalika, a village not far from Galatz. At the appointed hour I came to his tent, but there was a long delay while ten persons tried—and tried in vain—to catch the wild horse I had seen his boy ride so bravely. Perhaps it was as well they failed; for, when at last we set out with two other horses harnessed to the *taliga*, it was evident from Ahmet's cautious driving that he knew that the tumbledown old cart would stand but little bumping. The comb-makers who took me across Bulgaria would have broken its back at the first rut. But the roads near Galatz, though dusty and, on that day, thronged with vehicles, are fairly smooth, and Ahmet slowed up carefully at every rough spot, so that we reached our destination without disaster.

Kalika boasts a pretty little woodland park, on the edge of which booths and roundabouts had been erected, and we found the fair in full swing. There were big restaurants in tents, and little restaurants, mere barrows, in the open-air; there were drink-shops galore, cheap-jacks of every description, acrobats, peep-shows and pedlars; and half Galatz had crowded thither to see the fun. A Rumanian Bahram-Gur seemed to have imported twelve thousand Luris, for Gypsy bands were everywhere: we cannoned off one and on to another as we strolled about. Very bad bands they were, in which the frantic efforts of the strings to make themselves heard were decisively foiled by the fortissimo of a shrill clarinet. And we took cardboard horns and blew them, and bought nuts and cracked them, and filled our pockets with sunflower seeds and ate them, in the crowd. When we paused for drinks we engaged Gypsy bands to play for us, paying them 5d., which was a liberal salary, since my friends emptied their glasses at one draught, drinking rapidly for results and not for pleasure. And when we ate our dinner we engaged a band again, to the extreme annoyance of the restaurant-keeper who had already a band of his own. Then we went visiting acrobats and conjurers, who, in addition to their entertainments for which we paid, gave us Gypsy bands for which we did not pay, until, at last, tired of all the mixed cacophony, we sought refuge under the trees in the park. But there also were Gypsy bands innumerable. There were bands playing in solitary state to prove their mettle and obtain engagements. There were families picnicking on the grass, and each had its band: and there were

circular parties dancing Rumanian folk-dances, and they, of course, had bands too. Such a plague of Gypsy music was never known. But Ahmet wandered from one centre of discord to another, smiling contentedly; and I, seeing no opening for escape, was obliged to follow, until, quite unexpectedly, relief came with a torrential thunderstorm. Holiday dresses were soaked, picnic parties spoiled, and the showmen who had no tents lost much money. But the sufferers had no sympathy from me: we rushed for shelter, and took advantage of the first dry interval to harness the horses and drive hurriedly home. For once I had had too much of Gypsies.

V.—AN ITALIAN GYPSY COMEDY

By DEVEY FEARON DE L'HOSTE RANKING

THERE came into my possession some months ago an Italian comedy which seems to present sufficient points of interest to justify me in bringing it under the notice of members of our Society. The play bears the title, *Signorina Zingaretta*, and is, I should imagine, one of the earliest which lays itself out to deal with genuine Gypsy characters without confusing them with Jark-men, Patricos, and the whole tribe of mumpers generally. The title-page shows that it was printed at Viterbo in the year 1646, and states that the subject was taken from the Life of Lazzariglio di Tormes, *alias* Piccariglio.¹ Perhaps some of the readers of this Journal may know the latter book, of which I believe several editions were printed. I have never seen it myself, but I am told that it does not contain any words or sentences in Romani, nor any vocabulary of the language. If this be so, it is clear that the author of the play, though he may have drawn upon the novel for his plot, is not indebted to it for any knowledge of the language which he may have possessed.

The title-page also states that the subject was 'Fatto rappresentabile dall' Accademico Disunito detto l'Incapace.'

¹ SIGNORINA | ZINGARETTA | COMEDIA | Soggetto estratto dalla vita di Lazzari- | glio di Tormes, aliàs Piccariglio. | *Fatto rappresentabile dall' Accademico* | *Disunito detto l'Incapace.* | All' Illustriss. Sig. & Padrone Colendiss. | IL SIGNOR ABBATE | MATTEO GRIFONI. | [Block: arms] | IN VITERBO. MDCXXXVI. | *Con licenza de' Superiori.* | 12mo, Viterbo, 1646. Collation: A⁶, A—c¹²=42 leaves, c¹² blank. Paged from 6 on A³ verso to 81 on c¹¹ recto. A¹ is wrongly signed B.

One would like to know more of this Academician and of the schools in which he graduated: what was the Academy of which he claimed membership? How did he become 'disunited'? And why does he seem to glory in the title of 'dunderhead'? He calls himself 'D. Florido de Silvestris'; at least so he signs the dedication to Il Signor Abbate Matteo Grifoni, which is dated Rome, January 13, 1646. Was he an Italian Wittich? or was he a strolling scholar-player who had come into contact with Gypsies in the course of his wanderings and picked up some knowledge of the language? He seems to have been a fairly voluminous author, and not to have confined his writings entirely to the stage. At the end of the play there appears the following announcement:—

' Questa Signorina hà le sue Sorelle, che sono,
 Li due Fratelli Discordi, Comedia di tre Atti.
 La Combattuta Vedova, Comedia di cinque Atti.
 La Fuga dell' Hermana, Comedia di tre Atti.
 Un Fratellino di Titolo, Pensiero Bizzarro.
 Et un' altro di Titolo, Floridus Hortulus Sacrarum Plantarum.
 Composti dall' Accademico Disunito, detto l'Incapace, solo per
 quelli, che haveranno gusto di Compositioni tali, benche
 simplici.'

Perhaps some member of the Gypsy Lore Society may be able to trace copies of one or more of the comedies, in case they also should contain words or sentences of Romani.

The play itself is as dull as a comedy well could be; it is the old story of a child stolen by the Gypsies and brought up as one of themselves, but always recognized by them as being of a higher class than themselves; and in this instance they seem to have repented of their act after some dozen years and to have come with a view of restoring the girl to her parents. Here she is the daughter of the Governor of Bologna, in which city the scene is laid. The *mise en scène* is of the simplest, consisting only of two houses on opposite sides of the stage; one the house of the Governor, the other that of the Fiscal Idoaldo, whose nephew Gestilbindo falls in love with the heroine, and for her sake consents to disguise himself as a Gypsy and join the band.

The Gypsy characters are Iacuppo and Gaberta, an old Gypsy man and woman under whose care the heroine is, and a young Gypsy named Bebio. The comic relief is afforded by sundry wrangles between Iacuppo and Bebio; and by a somewhat coarsely

farcical scene in which Migunda, the servant of the Governor, being annoyed by the noise made by the Gypsy smiths under the window, makes a 'gardy-loo' over the head of Iacuppo. No doubt is left as to the nature of the deluge, Bebio exclaiming, 'Manco male sarebbe, se fosse acqua, ma è materia, ohibò; non senti, che profumo?'

The real interest of the play lies in the glimpses which it gives

SIGNORINA

ZINGARETTA

COMEDIA

Soggetto estratto dalla vita di Lazzari-
glio di Tormes, aliàs Piccariglio.

*Fatto rappresentabile dall'Accademico
Disunito detto l'Incapace.*

All'Illustriss. Sig. & Padrone Colendiss.

IL SIGNOR ABBATE
MATTEO GRIFONI.



IN VITERBO. MDCXXXVI.

Con licenza de' Superiori.

of the manners and customs, and of the wanderings of the Gypsies of the period; and in the specimens which it contains in scattered words and sentences of the language spoken by them. It is evident that the Gypsies of the time did not bear a very good reputation: in Act i. scene 2, Iacuppo says: 'Report goes that we Zingari are thieves, and thieves most cunning and skilful; since we spring from thievish ancestors, we consort with thieves, and the love of thieving is as natural to us as whiteness is to snow; and our industry is such that death alone can stop it.' While in

Act iv. scene 11, Lotilda says: 'Here is another Zingaro, with cocks, capons, and flasks of wine; if he had stolen them he would not carry them so openly.'

It was fully recognized that they had a language of their own which they habitually used among themselves; and they themselves appreciated the great advantage of being bi-lingual. In Act i. scene 2, Iacuppo says: 'Let's quit talking Zingaresco, wherever you go you ought to do as you see others, and in this city every one speaks the language of Rome.' Gaberta replies: 'As we have two languages we can trim our sails to any wind.' In scene 6, Gestilbindo says: 'Zingari? Who can understand them? They are cunning in the extreme.' In Act iv. scene 5, Milinda meeting Gestilbindo disguised as a Gypsy says: 'Zingaro? Do you not understand our language?'

A distinction is drawn between Caldarari and Zingari: and it is to be inferred that they had distinct cries or chants, peculiar to each body, which were well recognized. In Act iv. scene 6, Milinda refers to the false Gypsy (Gestilbindo in disguise), 'Who cried more like a Caldararo than like a Zingaro'; and in Act ii. scene 9, Iacuppo the old Gypsy rebukes Bebio the younger man for his false method of chanting their cry: 'Who wants any old grates mended, any old irons?' The men of the party were smiths: not simply coppersmiths, or menders of cauldrons, since they evidently repaired grates and iron utensils of all kinds. Their implements they carried in a wallet. Unfortunately the Romani names for their tools are not given: there are mentioned the hammer and the pincers, 'the groundwork of our art' as Iacuppo calls them, and also the anvil, which was portable and was driven into the ground with the hammer. Iacuppo says, 'Catch hold of the anvil, drive it into the ground and fix it firmly.' Bebio replies: 'Give me the hammer, and while I am fixing the anvil do you strike the flint and steel.' The bellows do not seem to be mentioned.

Did they also do something in the way of the three-card trick? They evidently carried playing cards about with them, and were willing to play with any one who turned up. In Act iv. scene 9, Bebio is looking for some one to play him a game at Primero—'If only I could find some one who would play me a game for these two piastres'—and meeting Florido, one of the gorgio characters, he says: 'I say, if you will play at Primiera with me, here are two piastres, and here are the cards as good as new.' I do not

know the game of Primero, nor whether it was played with the ordinary cards; or, as Ombre was played originally, with Tarocchi.¹

The women told fortunes by the hand: the Signorina *dukers* Gestilbindo, and the patter might be that of a *tshai* of the present day; especially the way in which she wheedles a little more *luvo* out of him: 'Kind gentleman, if these coins of yours had been gold my hand would be more cunning in marking and deciphering the lines and circles, and your hand would be more capable of receiving the necessary crossings (*segni*).' The Signorina also dances, while Bebio plays the guitar, which he always carried about with him in his wallet. Bebio asks whether he shall play 'Ruggiero' or 'La Gagliarda.' The Signorina replies: *Ca papà fa te Ruggiero*, 'I want you to play Ruggiero.' What was this Ruggiero, which seems to have been the favourite dancing tune? Was it by any chance our old friend Sir Roger? Old Gaberta seems also to have dealt in nostrums of various kinds, and most probably in spells and philtres. In Act v. scene 7, she says: 'Let me bathe her forehead with this elixir vitæ, which I got from the house of a prince in Naples; that will bring back her wandering wits.'

No mention is made of the possession by these Gypsies of horses nor of beasts of burden of any kind: nor of the use by them of tents or caravans. In fact, it is implicitly stated that they had nothing of the sort: on two or three occasions they refer to the necessity for finding an inn or some other lodging in Bologna. Iacuppo says (Act iv. Scene 8): 'We are lords of the open fields, the heaths, the mountains, the rivers, the springs, the trees, and the vines, which give us fruit without paying a penny; caves are our houses and our palaces; at the inn I will tell you something about the laws and regulations by which we protect ourselves and live jollily. As to our qualities it is enough to say that we make people keep good watch and ward over their chattels; for this we deserve thanks, not abuse.'

In Act iv. scene 1, Gaberta, who is evidently a staunch preserver of old Gypsy tradition, seems to hint at the punishment of living burial as being reserved for those children who failed to honour and obey their parents. She says: '*& io a figliuoli simili (toccando a me) darei per sentenza, che fossero sepolti vivi, per dar esempio.*'

They would seem to have travelled much by sea; and Con-

¹ Primero is supposed to have been introduced into England after the marriage of Mary with Philip of Spain (Brand, *Pop. Antiquities*, London, 1841, ii. 266). Tarocco was played early in the reign of James I.

stantinople was evidently looked upon as their headquarters. Gaberta says that when they stole the child their original intention was to make their way to Constantinople by sea, and if on the voyage they could find a merchant who was willing to give their price, then to sell the girl. On the journey, however, they changed their minds, and went by way of 'Puglia' (Apulia, so called also in the *Trattato Dei Bianchi ovver Pitocchi e Vagabondi*) into Sicily (probably from some port on the Gulf of Taranto), then into Calabria, and finally to Malta.

I am going here to make a fanciful suggestion which may be taken for what it is worth: Does this track of the Gypsies by sea from Constantinople or that neighbourhood throw any light on the much-argued question of the 'Sea-coast of Bohemia' in *A Winter's Tale*? Was the tale of Pandosto taken down from the original Autolycus, a *Bohème*, and in speaking of sailing from Sicily to Bohemia, was he referring to Little Egypt, the *Pays des Bohèmes* in the region of Epirus?

The sentences and words of Romani which appear in the play are by no means easy of interpretation, nor indeed of identification. The words seem to be badly divided, and often ill-recorded; and one is almost led to believe that the author had no real knowledge of Romani, and therefore cannot have been a Gypsy, but that, having some slight knowledge of the language, he took down what he thought he heard. I have submitted all passages which present any difficulty to the Honorary Secretary of the G. L. S. and to Mr. E. O. Winstedt, and where their interpretations differ I give both versions. There are, however, still several points of doubt which will afford ample scope for ingenuity in finding a solution: and any suggestion from readers will be greatly appreciated. Some of the sentences seem to be a mixture of Romani with corrupt Italian; and I think it quite possible that some of the words, or portions of them, may be Rumanian, since the specimens of Romani seem to belong to a Rumanian dialect.

Act i. scene 2 opens with two sentences spoken by the old Gypsies Iacuppo and Gaberta:—

IAC. *Tagar de vel cauiglion cadia dise.*

GAB. *Cauiglion cadia dise siucar.*

At first sight this would seem to mean: 'Lord God, that we have come (*aviljam*) to this country!' 'That we have come to this country is good.' *Dis* 'country' is good Romani, found in

Paspati (*Amén kadiá disátar kaniklás*), and the gender of *cadia* seems to make it impossible to take *dise* as the locative of *dives*. Mr. Winstedt suggests: *Tagar, te vel* (or *devel*), etc.; and would translate it: 'Prince, would (or, O God) that you came (*aviljan*) to this land.' If this be so, one would expect the feminine form *tagarni*, since the only person to whom the remark could have been intended to apply would be the Signorina.

In scene 6 of Act i. we have again the Gypsies, and there enters to them Gestilbindo, a young cavalier on his travels. Gaberta, the old Gypsy woman, says: *Ciaccò ternò*.¹ Iacuppo, the old Gypsy man, says: *Tu gianes soca macherao*. The Signorina adds: *Acio prenera la veste*. These sentences seem to mean: 'Girl, here is the youth.' 'You know what I will do.' 'Stop, he will tell (*phenela*) the news' (Vaillant has 'VESTA, nouvelle; [vesta] dao, je donne la nouvelle, l'avis,' from the Rumanian *veste*). The Hon. Secretary suggests for the last sentence: *Atš opre mire laveste* 'Wait for my word.' Mr. Winstedt thinks the sentence may be partly Italian: *Atš, io prenderò la veste* 'Stop, I will take the cloak' (as who should say 'I'll have the very shirt off his back!')

Later in the same scene, Gestilbindo, who is going to be *dukered* by the Signorina, says to her: 'Here is a scudo, tell my fortune, Signorina, since I understand that is what you are called.' To which she replies: *Cagliari carnamanghi*. This mystic utterance is not easy of solution; and one does not see why the Signorina should have spoken to Gestilbindo in Romani unless there was something which she did not wish him to understand, since she must have known that he was ignorant of the language. Mr. Winstedt suggests: *Ka lire k'anena mangi* 'Let them bring me money.' The Hon. Secretary translates it: *Kalore* (or *akale*) *karena mangi* 'Dark (or these) people are calling to me.' I am inclined to think it stands for: *Kale geri karena mangi*² 'These men are calling for me,' but I have a lurking suspicion that she is having a naughty joke with the gorgio, and that it might read: *Kali yeri* (Paspati's *yerá* for *gherá*, plur. of *gher* 'cuisse': Ang. Rom. *hero*) *karena mangi*, though one would have expected *man* instead of *mangi*.

The next word or words which seem to be Romani occur in

¹ It is interesting to see that, here and in several other places, the oxytone accents are carefully marked.

² *gori* is used for 'man' in the jargon of the 'Calderaj di Valsoana.' See Biondelli, *Studi sulle Lingue Furbesche*, Milano, 1846, p. 45.

scene 10 of the first Act, where Gestilbindo, who has fallen in love with the Signorina, is trying to persuade the three Gypsies to assent to his suit. Bebio is in a hurry to get away to the inn and find something to eat, and exclaims: *Manasgodì, hauemo bisogno di fatti, e non di parole*. I would suggest that *manasgodì* may mean: 'Do not waste your wit, or words,' or possibly *man is godì* 'I think': Paspatis gives '*Dáva tut godì, je te donne conseil*.'

In scene 11 of the same Act we have the dancing scene: Iacuppo, bidding Bebio bring out his guitar, says: *Date gusto cemognio Bebbio piglia la tua Chitarrina*. For *cemognio* I am inclined to read: *Dža, mo ongoni* 'Go, my grandson' (Paspatis's *ongóni*). Bebio answers: *A casi dobba Signor sì*. I would translate this: *Aka sì 'dova* 'Here it is'; the *Signor sì* being addressed to the Governor of the city, before whom they are performing.

In the next scene, when the dance is over, Rosalinda, the daughter of the Governor, throws money from the window; and the following passage occurs:—

SIG. *Ringratiamo la Signoria vostra.*

IAC. *Carolì.*

GAB. *Delmahauer forà dell obuteder.*

BEB. *Camama mbrobacin.*

Carolì may be merely an exclamation on seeing the coins which are thrown out, or it may stand for: *Kar(in) ole* 'Where are they?' Gaberta's remark is translated both by the Hon. Secretary and by Mr. Winstedt: *Del ma aver var (forà), del obuteder* 'She will (or let her) give me another time, she will (let her) give more.' *Camama mbrobacin* would seem to stand for: *Kamama minro bazin* 'I want my share.'

In Act ii., scene 10, when Iacuppo and Bebio are being driven away from the house outside which they have been making an infernal noise over their smith-work, we have *sig, sig* 'quick, quick,' and *nascè, nascè* 'run, run.'

In scene 7 of Act iii. Iacuppo and Bebio are quarrelling: Bebio is tired of Bologna and wishes to go back to Naples; he also wants money, to which he considers that he is entitled. He says: 'I tell you I want to go towards Naples, *palio ote*,' which should mean 'back yonder.' Iacuppo says *nana giasse*, apparently meaning, 'Thou shalt not go.' Bebio replies: *Nagiente nacamatomisto*. Mr. Winstedt suggests that this should run: *Na* (for *ma*, as in Rumanian Romani) *gian, te na kama tu misto*, that is 'Do not

you (pl.) go, for I do not care about you (sing.),' or that *na gian* represents *na gian(es)* 'dost thou not know?'; and I can see no other meaning, unless one could read *gian* as conditional (past for imperfect) and translate: 'Thou wouldst not go if I were (am) not quite willing.' Iacuppo says *Aci magianicai*, which I take to mean, 'Stay, do not ye go here,' a sentence which seems to indicate imperfect knowledge of the Romani words used.

Finally, after Bebio has extorted some money from Iacuppo, he says, *Der carghiontucula*. Mr. Winstedt thinks this should be *Durikarghiom tu kola* 'I told these peoples' fortunes for you': but we have not heard anything of Bebio telling fortunes, which seems to have been the special province of the Signorina. It seems more probable that the expression is one of supreme derision and contempt, containing the word *kar*, or perhaps representing something like *Tu xalian to kula* (*kul*=*ful*).

I can make nothing of the last sentence of this scene, which appears to be a mixture of Italian patois with bad Romani: it runs: *Ah forsante, sè testo sei stato a leuarmeli dalle mani, t'arriuaro, mucarami*. Perhaps some reader may be able to give a reasonable translation.

So far as I have been able to identify them, I have given here all the Gypsy words and sentences in the play. My attempts at translation are purely conjectural, and are, as I am fully aware, open to much criticism; they may, however, give other members of the Society a pleasant opportunity for correcting my mistakes and exposing my ignorance.

LIST OF WORDS SUGGESTED

<i>aka</i> , this. In <i>ciaccò</i> and <i>a casi</i> .	<i>dža-</i> , go. <i>Džasa</i> as <i>giasse</i> , <i>gian</i> in
<i>akai</i> , here. In <i>magianicai</i> .	<i>magianicai</i> , <i>gian</i> or <i>džan</i> (imp.) in
<i>akava</i> , this. <i>Akale</i> in <i>cagliari</i> , and 'kola in <i>carghiontucula</i> .	<i>nagianta</i> , <i>dža</i> (imp.) in <i>cemognio</i> .
<i>an-</i> , bring. <i>Anena</i> in <i>carnamanghi</i> .	<i>džan-</i> , know. <i>Džanes</i> as <i>gianes</i> , and in
<i>atš-</i> , stop. In <i>acio</i> and <i>aci</i> .	<i>nagianta</i> .
<i>av-</i> , come. 'Vel in <i>de vel</i> , and <i>aviljan</i> or <i>aviljam</i> in <i>cauiglion</i> .	<i>ger</i> , thigh. In <i>cagliari</i> .
<i>aver</i> , other. In <i>delmahauer</i> .	<i>gero</i> , man. In <i>cagliari</i> .
<i>basin</i> , share. In <i>mbrobacin</i> .	<i>godì</i> , thought. In <i>manasgodì</i> .
<i>but</i> , much. Comparative <i>buteder</i> in <i>obuteder</i> .	<i>xa-</i> , eat. <i>Xalian</i> in <i>carghiontucula</i> .
<i>da-</i> , give. <i>Del</i> as <i>dell</i> , and in <i>delmahauer</i> .	<i>is</i> , verb to be. <i>Is</i> in <i>manasgodì</i> , <i>si</i> in
<i>devel</i> , God. As <i>de vel</i> .	<i>a casi</i> .
<i>dis</i> , country. As <i>dise</i> .	<i>jov</i> , he. In <i>acio</i> .
<i>duriker-</i> , tell fortunes. In <i>der carghiontucula</i> .	<i>kadava</i> , this. <i>Kadaja</i> (f.) as <i>cadia</i> .
	<i>kalo</i> , black, or <i>kaloro</i> , dark (in pl.) in
	<i>cagliari</i> .
	<i>kam-</i> , want. <i>Kamama</i> , I want, as <i>ca mamà</i> , <i>camama</i> and in <i>nacamatomisto</i> .

<i>kar</i> , penis. In <i>carghiontucula</i> .	<i>o</i> , art. masc. In <i>ciacco</i> and <i>obuteder</i> .
<i>kar</i> -, call. <i>Karena</i> in <i>carnamanghi</i> .	<i>odova</i> , this. As <i>dobba</i> .
<i>karin</i> , where. As <i>kar</i> in <i>caroli</i> .	<i>ol</i> , they. In <i>caroli</i> .
<i>ke</i> , that. In <i>caviglian</i> , <i>soca</i> , <i>caglieri</i> and <i>carnamanghi</i> .	<i>ongoni</i> , grandson. In <i>cemognio</i> .
<i>ke</i> , to. In <i>cadia</i> .	<i>opre</i> , on. In <i>acio prenera</i> .
<i>ker</i> -, make, do. <i>Keraü</i> in <i>macherao</i> (Rum. form).	<i>ote</i> , there. In <i>palio ote</i> .
<i>kful</i> , dung. <i>Kula</i> in <i>carghiontucula</i> .	<i>pale</i> , back again. In <i>palio</i> .
<i>la</i> , obl. art. In <i>la veste</i> .	<i>phen</i> -, say. <i>Phenela</i> as <i>prenera</i> .
<i>lav</i> , word. <i>Laveste</i> as <i>la veste</i> .	<i>sig</i> , quickly. As <i>sig</i> , <i>sig</i> .
<i>ma</i> , not (prohib.). In <i>manasgodi</i> and <i>magianicai</i> .	<i>so</i> , what. In <i>soca</i> .
<i>me</i> , I. In <i>macherao</i> ; <i>ma(n)</i> , acc. for dat. in <i>delmahauer</i> and <i>man</i> in <i>manasgodi</i> ; <i>mangi</i> in <i>carnamanghi</i> .	<i>šukar</i> , pleasant. As <i>siucar</i> .
<i>miro</i> , my. In <i>mbrobacin</i> ; <i>mire</i> in <i>prenera</i> ; <i>mo</i> in <i>cemognio</i> .	<i>te</i> , that (conj.). In <i>de vel</i> and <i>nagi-ante</i> .
<i>mišto</i> , well. In <i>nacamatomisto</i> .	<i>ternò</i> , young.
<i>na</i> , not. In <i>nagiant</i> and <i>nacamatomisto</i> : also <i>nana</i> .	<i>thagar</i> , king. As <i>tagar</i> .
<i>naš</i> -, run. Imper. in <i>manasgodi</i> , and <i>nascè</i> .	<i>tiro</i> , thy. As <i>tu</i> in <i>carghiontucula</i> .
	<i>tšaj</i> , girl. In <i>ciaccò</i> .
	<i>tu</i> , thou. Thus and as <i>der</i> : for acc. <i>tu(t)</i> in <i>nacamatomisto</i> and <i>carghiontucula</i> .
	<i>var</i> , time. As <i>forà</i> .
	<i>veste</i> (Rum.), news.

REVIEWS

Napoleon Boswell: Tales of the Tents. By HERBERT H. MALLESON.
With a Preface by LADY ARTHUR GROSVENOR. London:
Smith, Elder & Co., 1913. Price 6s.

The Adventures of Poley Boswell.

IT takes no small courage for any one as unlearned as I to write anything about the Gypsies in so learned a publication as the Gypsy Lore Society's *Journal*. There was a time when I thought that my love for the Gypsy and a smattering of Romani sufficient to enable me to *rakker* with him in his tents, made me an authority on both himself and his language. But I can no longer cherish the pleasant illusion. However fluent I might still be alone with the *Romané*, among the *Romané Raia* I sit discreetly silent, and every fresh number of the *Journal* I receive convinces me of ignorance. I am impressed when, on its pages, the jargon of the English Gypsies I used to listen to by the reservoir just beyond Camden and at Oakdale Park in Philadelphia, appears as an admirably constructed, beautifully accented, to me incomprehensible language. But I confess to a fear that the *Romani chib*,

as it was in the mouth of the English Gypsy, as I knew it, as the great *Romané Raia* of other days talked and taught and wrote it, is in danger of disappearing in the new scholarly restoration, just as the character of many an old church or mansion has disappeared under the hands of the conscientious restorer who thinks he knows what purity of style requires of it even if it never attained the purity of itself. I am also afraid that with all this new knowledge, all this fine and accomplished scholarship, the *Romané Raia* are losing something of the Gypsy, much as they may be gaining for his language. That elusive creature, with the charm that is the attraction for us all, the bond that holds us together, has seldom strayed into the *Journal*, seldom been made to live there, as he lives in the books of Borrow and Leland and Groome. For me more of the Gypsy is in the oft-quoted, much-abused passage from *Lavengro*—‘There’s night and day, brother . . .’—than in the longest folk-tale told in the scholar’s irreproachable *Romani*. But if the Gypsy is vanishing in scholarship, so is his caravan being appropriated by the destructive amateur, and so too is poor Borrow being captured by the outsider, by *gáje* (in whom I barely recognize my old *gorgio*) like Mr. Clement K. Shorter and Sir W. Robertson Nicoll—what, I ask myself, would Borrow have said to the capture, how received his modern patron? And only too far have we travelled from the days when the *Rai* was a stranger, an intruder, a privileged friend in Gypsy tents. I think it is a matter of regret. Every man—or woman—is free to his—or her—opinion, however deplorable it may seem to those who do not share it, and this is mine, not to be shaken even though I tremble as I proclaim it where I know there are few to agree with me.

Now, it is because I find the Gypsy of Borrow and Leland, the Gypsy with the charm so difficult to analyse, so impossible to explain, reappearing in the Rev. Herbert H. Malleeson’s *Napoleon Boswell* (London: Smith, Elder & Co.) that I have read his book with a pleasure Gypsy literature has not given me for many a day. Mr. Malleeson has before this told us in the *Journal* what he thinks of the present hunting-down of the *Romané* by the ‘spoilers of the Egyptians,’ among whom he generously includes himself. ‘One knows,’ he says, ‘that every addition to our scientific knowledge means a fresh inroad upon that wonderful unknown which is the secret of the beloved mystery.’ He blames himself for the note-book in his pocket when he visits the Gypsy,

and his whipping it out to jot down the happy phrase or the sudden sentence which lays bare the old Romany heart. But the difference is that when, later, he again takes the note-book out of his pocket to use his notes, it is not to bury the Gypsy deep under scientific facts, but to make him, in the written portrait, stand upon his legs, enveloped in the atmosphere of the Gypsy tent. Mr. Malleson knows the Gypsy, sympathizes with the Gypsy, understands the value of the Gypsy's vices as well as of the Gypsy's virtues, if a creature so irresponsible may be saddled with either. And he gives us this Gypsy in the ten adventures of little Poley Boswell, whose fortunes he follows from the moment when Poley's arrival in this world, where the Gypsy's path begins to be so thorny and narrow, rejoices the heart of Napoleon Boswell, the father, until the irresistible charms of Poley, the youth, win the heart of Gentilla Cooper. Never was the child Gypsy so faithfully portrayed—the splendid little savage growing up by the roadside as the flowers grow, with the cheek to face policemen and the strength to tackle a horse, full of love for his people, armed with distrust of the *gâjé*, as ill at ease in the *gâjé's* houses as in the dreaded presence of his people's ghosts—the splendid little savage for whom the Board School and the missionary lie in wait, to ruin him for ever with the education and the civilization that do not belong to him, and that he is therefore much better without. Throughout are innumerable incidents, innumerable passages that show how truly Mr. Malleson is in sympathy with his subject, how thoroughly he has mastered it and made it his own. How much of Gypsy life is expressed in a description like that of the hawthorn bush, out of the sun, with the road glaring white, north and south, between great woods, where Poley sat with his Aunt Dorelia on a hot summer day! And how much of the Gypsy philosophy and code of morals in Poley's promise on oath never to speak to policemen without tellin' 'em a lie, there imposed upon him by his Aunt Dorelia, and in her definition of a lie as 'de farthestest travellin' from de dear God's truth you ever can go'! How much of Gypsy superstition in the last hours and the death of old Zachary Boswell, who in real life was old Isaac Heron! How much of Gypsy mettle in Poley's brave ride on the mad chestnut horse! How much of Gypsy swagger in the older Napoleon Boswell's drinking to the policeman in gold, and how much of the Gypsy love of the colour of life in his 'tight cord trousers and his well-greased boots, his red waistcoat, shining with mother-of-

pearl buttons, and his white wideawake, gay with a peacock feather's eye'!

Mr. Malleson not only knows the Gypsy, but, as important for his purpose, he knows how to select the right subject and then how to tell the story—a rare combination. And he has the talent for the short story, which so few English writers have. He respects his medium, never attempts to make it do what it cannot, what it was never intended to do—he never struggles to crowd a three-volume novel into a dozen pages. And he has the dramatic instinct. He carries the reader straight and attentively through from the beginning to the end, with no chance, no desire to lose the thread by the way, and he introduces just in the right place the dramatic incident or situation that sticks in the memory—Poley dragging home in the darkness the long-lost whip of luck, Poley arriving with the shining handcuffs as a present for his Uncle Gilderoy, Poley suddenly exposing the horse-dealer—all these and many more are admirably managed, telling as they should. Three or four stories—*The Luck of the Whip*, *The Raiment of Captivity*, *A Spoiler at Noonday*, *A Proof of Mettle*—may stand out with more distinction, a better subject perhaps leading to more spirited treatment. But all are good, all are interesting, all have character. Lady Arthur Grosvenor's *Preface* is in the right spirit, though Mr. Malleson's stories, even if they are his first, were in no need of being introduced. They can answer for themselves. Altogether his book is one which, on my shelves anyway, will find a place not too far from Borrow and Leland and Groome.

ELIZABETH ROBINS PENNELL.

Words from the Wild-wood: Sixteen Galloway Tales and Sketches.

By ANDREW M'CORMICK. With an Introduction by CHARLES SHIRRA DOUGALL. Illustrated by JOHN COPLAND. Glasgow and Dalbeattie: Fraser, Asher and Co., Ltd., 1912.

Unlike the writers whose condemnation he quotes from Borrow, Mr. M'Cormick can tell a plain story and is not 'afraid to put down what is common on paper,' and so his most successful efforts are the simple but eloquent tributes to nobility of character in humble folk, "Dr. Burns," the tramps' doctor, and 'Aul' Peggie.' We could wish that, instead of this too

heterogeneous collection of essays, he had given us a whole gallery of such sympathetic portraits and that some of them had depicted Gypsies. Of the three chapters which deal directly with the *Romá*, one is the folk-tale 'Nan Gordon' reprinted from this journal, and the other two are presumably fiction, intended rather to interest the general reader than as serious contributions to Gypsy Lore, although 'The Tinklers' Waddin' contains a drawing-room version of Simson's marriage ceremony, and the deep tragedy of 'Aaron Gow the Gypsy blacksmith' is relieved by a humorous footnote which defends Gypsy mendacity and proves it to be a higher form of truthfulness.

Genial sarcasm seems to have inspired the admission in the preface to 'Borrow's Notes on Galloway,' that 'Even now, many of a discriminating taste in literature hold him [Borrow] in high regard.' For Mr. M'Cormick shows a very just appreciation of the humour of Borrow's boastfulness: the humour, for instance, which led him to write, in the appendix of *The Romany Rye*, "'Lavengro" is a philological book' after having in *Lavengro* itself roundly abused the philologist as 'one small poor dog,' with much else equally insulting, and philology as 'the last resource of dulness and ennui.'

NOTES AND QUERIES

1.—THE CROSS AS A GYPSY SYMBOL

We learn from Mr. Theodore Watts-Dunton that the cross, or *trisula*, is regarded by Gypsies as the most powerful of all symbols.¹ 'A Romani girl will tell you that the dark-blue punctured rosettes at the corners of her mouth,² ornamental as she considers them to be, have something to do with luck as well as ornament. . . . Tattooed on the breast of the South Papuan woman we find the same cross (or Sanscrit *trisula*), which the Romanis believe to be the most powerful of all symbols—so powerful that the rainbow will fade from the sky "at the very sight of it."'³

It would appear, then, that a certain cruciform mark, variously described as a rosette, a *trisula*, and a cross, is or has been held in high reverence by Gypsies. It is unnecessary to take the Papuans into consideration here, as that would entail a survey of all the areas and races associated with a cruciform symbol. At present we are only concerned with the Gypsies.

¹ It may be worth while to record here that in November 1900 Taw, Matthew Wood's mother, defined *trukul* to me as 'yellow in the sky—some notice that God gives you.' Not long afterwards, when in a less communicative mood, she denied this, and said the word meant 'dirt, grass, hay, swedes, potatoes, in a hedge, mixed with one another,' trying apparently to express the idea of English 'Across.'—ED.

² Cf. Groome's *In Gipsy Tents*, p. 329.

³ *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 120.

Writing in 1892, and reiterating a statement which he had made in 1869, Professor Henri van Elven of Brussels says, with regard to European Gypsies: 'Their advent would coincide with the introduction into Europe of the sign of the Cross—a sign used in Ancient India, since a remote date, as a religious and sectarian symbol.' 'These Gypsies form not only a class but a very ancient religious sect, having the sign of the Cross as a mark of union, although perhaps they have nowadays parted from it as useless.' 'I remember seeing some rings, cast in bronze, of which the setting was ornamented with a double or a single cross, and whose ornamentation recalled the *motifs* of the Middle Ages, the style being evidently Oriental.'¹

Van Elven had mentioned these circumstances to me in the course of a conversation which I had with him in 1891, and he referred me for fuller information to Ch. Debierre's book *De l'introduction du Signe de la Croix en Europe*. I have a memorandum of that date, made in Brussels, to the effect that Debierre's book was not obtainable in Brussels, and would require to be ordered from Paris. As I omitted to follow up the clue, then or subsequently, I record this detail for the benefit of other investigators. But it will be seen that Van Elven's conviction, grounded to some extent upon personal observation, but more largely upon historical evidence, was that in former times the Gypsies regarded the cross as a mark of union. Moreover, he believed that the advent of that symbol in Europe synchronized with the advent of the Gypsies. This means, of course, that he placed the Gypsy arrival at a date far antecedent to the Middle Ages. This is a question which cannot be considered here; the present note dealing only with the indications that the cross was a symbol held in high regard by the Gypsies.

Further evidence of this is found in the request of the Gypsy fortune-teller that his or her hand—or the client's hand—be 'crossed.' In England this was briefly expressed by the demand—'Cross my hand': in Scotland by the variant 'Cross my loof'²—*loof* being a Teutonic word denoting the palm of the hand. It is evident that 'cross' is here used in a colloquial fashion, and that what was meant was that a cross should be placed in the hand. This is clearly seen in Saboly's Provençal *Noël of the Three Magi*, otherwise 'Bohemians,' which, says Wentworth Webster,³ serves 'to illustrate a certain popular belief regarding Gypsies, existent in the middle of the seventeenth century, but prevalent during many of the preceding centuries.' Webster's observation is applied to the *Noël* as a whole, but it includes the detail to be referred to. The Three Magi, or Bohemians, begin by telling the fortune of the Child Jesus, whom they thus address—

'Child, lovely and so sweet,
Place, place here, the cross,
And each (of us) will tell thee
Everything that will happen to thee:
Begin, Janan, however,
Give him the hand to see.'

Later lines are these—

'Come, come, beauteous Messiah,
Place, place, place here,
The white piece (of money)
To make us rejoice.'

.

¹ *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 135-138.

² Possibly the district of Crossmyloof in Glasgow derives its name from Gypsy associations.

³ *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 135.

Give, give here thy hand,
 And I will divine for thee
 Something very charming :
 But let the silver come, or nevertheless
 Without it we do nothing.'

Contemporaneous with this picture of Saboly's is Molière's description of Gypsy fortune-telling, which occurs in *Le Mariage Forcé*, published in 1664 :—

'SCANARELLE.—Ah ! voici des égyptiennes ; il faut que je me fasse dire par elles ma bonne aventure. Ecoutez, vous autres, y a-t-il moyen de me dire ma bonne fortune ?

'PREMIÈRE EGYPTIENNE.—Oui, mon beau monsieur, nous voici deux qui te la dirons.

'DEUXIÈME EGYPTIENNE.—Tu n'as seulement qu'à nous donner ta main avec la croix dedans et nous te dirons quelque chose pour ton profit.'

A comparison of these two passages makes it evident that in seventeenth-century France the Gypsy fortune-teller asked for a piece of money stamped with a cross. Whether such coins were still current at that date is a numismatic detail. At one time they were very numerous, being chiefly associated with the Levantine mints originating in the Crusades. Their memory still survives in such designations as *cruzado* and *kreutzer*. They were of various values, and are not to be gauged by the humble kreutzer of to-day. At a certain period there would be a very practical reason for the Gypsies demanding such coins, as being the most useful in their peregrinations. As nominal pilgrims, moreover, they would make use of pilgrim money. Whatever explanation may be given, the fact remains that the money placed in their hands or in those of their clients had to bear the mark of the cross.

Presumably, also, the cross was displayed on their own garments. Writing in 1572, Peucer states that the Zigeuner wore the pilgrim dress.¹ This implies that, warrantably or not, they were distinguished by the emblems associated with that dress. For example the *coquillards*, or pretended pilgrims to and from the shrine of St. James of Galicia, were so designated because they bore the cockle- or scallop-shell of St. James in their hats. These *coquillards* may or may not have been Gypsies. But Gypsies in general, who dressed as religious pilgrims, going to and from various holy places, including Jerusalem, must obviously have displayed the cross as their chief emblem.

The point to be settled is this : Did the Gypsy reverence for the cross originate in a fraudulent use of that emblem in the Middle Ages, or is it derived from an older source ? Much light could be thrown upon the subject by the study of such a book as Debierre's. From a reference of Dr. Ranking's (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, July 1908, p. 17) it seems also that J. A. Vaillant speaks of the Gypsy respect for the sign of the cross at page 279 of *Les Rômes* (Paris, 1857).

DAVID MACRITCHIE.

2.—WHY GYPSIES HAVE NO ALPHABET

Professor R. C. Bosanquet has kindly sent the following story from N. G. Polites's *Μελέται περὶ τοῦ βιοῦ καὶ τῆς γλώσσης τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ λαοῦ* (Παραδόσεις, μέρος Α'. Athens, 1904, pp. 624-5). Another legend about Gypsy letters—less romantic

¹ *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 7 n.

if equally improbable—will be found in M. Decourdemanche's *Grammaire du Tchïngané* (Paris, 1908), pp. 377-380.

Γιατί οἱ Γύφτοι κ' οἱ Ἀρβανίταις δὲν ἔχουν γράμματα
(Ἐπαρχία Κουρέντων τῆς Ἡπείρου)

Ὅταν ἐμέραζεν ὁ Θεὸς τὰ γράμματα ἐπῆγαν ὅλαις οἱ φυλαῖς νὰ γυρέψουν γράμματα, ὅξω ἀπὸ τῆ γύφτικῃ τῇ φυλῇ, ποῦ δὲν ἐπῆγεν καθύλου, καὶ γι' αὐτὸ οὔτε ἔχουν οὔτε θὰ χουν ποτὲ γράμματα οἱ γύφτοι· γιατί ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς καταράστηκε καὶ τὰ ῥῆξε μέσα 'ς τὴ θάλασσα ὅταν οἱ γύφτοι ἔφκειασαν τὰ περόνια ποῦ σταυρώθηκε ὁ Χριστός.

Κοντὰ σὲ ὅλαις ταῖς φυλαῖς ποῦ πῆραν γράμματα ἦταν καὶ ἡ ἀρβανίτικῃ ἡ φυλῇ. Μὰ γιατί οἱ Ἀρβανίταις δὲν ἔχουν γράμματα; Θὰ σᾶς τὸ πῶ.

Ὅταν ἐμέραζε ὁ Θεὸς γράμματα δὲν εἶχε βγῆ τὸ χαρτὶ ἀκόμα, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ποῦ ἐπῆγαν νὰ τὰ πάρουν τὰ γράμματα τὰ ἔπαιρναν ψηλὰ σὲ φύλλα ἀπὸ κουμπρολάχανο καὶ ἔφευγαν. Οἱ ἄλλοι ὅλοι τὰ ἐπῆγαν καλὰ 'ς τὰ σπῖτια τοὺς τὰ λαχανόφυλλα ὅπου εἶχαν τὰ γράμματα, ἀλλὰ ὁ καϊμένος ὁ Ἀρβανίτης δὲν τὸ ἐπῆγε τὸ λαχανόφυλλο, γιατί 'στὸ δρόμο ἐδίψασε καὶ σκύφτοντας νὰ πιῇ νερὸ σὲ μιὰ βρύση, ἄφησε τὸ φύλλο κατὰ γῆς, καὶ μιὰ γελάδα ποῦ ἔβασκε ἐκεῖ κοντὰ τὸ μυρίστηκε καὶ ὅσο νὰ σηκώσῃ ὁ Ἀρβανίτης τὸ κεφάλι του ἀπὸ τῇ βρύση, τὸ φύλλο μὲ τὰ γράμματα ἦταν 'στὴν κοιλιά τῆς γελάδας!

Ἔσκουζε ὁ καϊμένος ὁ Ἀρβανίτης γιὰ τὸ κακὸ ποῦ ἔπαθε, καὶ μὲ τὰ δάκρυα 'ς τὰ μάτια γύρισε πίσω 'στὸ παλάτι τοῦ Θεοῦ, ζητώντας ἄλλα γράμματα. Ἀλλὰ ὁ Θεὸς δὲν εἶχε ἄλλα γράμματα παρὰ μόνον τὰ γύφτικα, ποῦ ἅμα τὰ εἶδε ὁ Ἀρβανίτης εἶπε 'ς τὸ Θεὸ ποῦ ἤθελε νὰ τοῦ τὰ δώσῃ: «Δὲν τὰ παίρω, Θέ μου, αὐτὰ τὰ γράμματα, χρυσὰ νὰν τὰ κάνῃς!—Καὶ ἐγὼ ἤθελα νὰ σοῦ δώσω καλύτερα, τοῦ εἶπε ὁ Θεός, ἀλλὰ δὲν ἔχω ἄλλα.—Ἀφοῦ εἶν' ἔτσι, εἶπε ὁ Ἀρβανίτης, ἂς μείνω καὶ χῶρς γράμματα.—Καὶ πῶς θὰ ζήσῃ ἡ φυλὴ σου χῶρς γράμματα; τοῦ εἶπε ὁ Θεός.—Μὲ δανεικά», ἀπολογήθηκε ὁ Ἀρβανίτης, καὶ ἔφυγε. Ἀπὸ τότε οἱ Ἀρβανίταις ζοῦν μὲ τὰ δικά μας τὰ γράμματα.

3.—MILNES AND THE GYPSIES

'Milnes once spread a report that every gang of gipsies was found upon inquiry to have come last from a place to the westward, and to be about to make the next move in an eastern direction. Either, therefore, they were to be all gathered together towards the rising of the sun by the mysterious finger of Providence, or else they were to revolve round the globe for ever and ever. Both of these suppositions were highly gratifying, because they were both marvellous; and though the story on which they were founded plainly sprang from the inventive brain of a poet, no one had ever been so odiously statistical as to attempt a contradiction of it. I now mentioned the story as a report to Lady Hester Stanhope, and asked her if it were true. I could not have touched upon any imaginable subject more deeply interesting to my hearer, more closely akin to her habitual train of thinking. She immediately threw off all the restraint belonging to an interview with a stranger, and when she had received a few more similar proofs of my aptness for the marvellous, she went so far as to say that she would adopt me as her "élève" in occult science.'—Kinglake's *Eothen*, chap. viii.

I presume the author of the report mentioned is Richard Monckton Milnes, Lord Houghton. Can any one supply the reference to his works where the report is given?

13th January 1913.

ALEX. RUSSELL.

4.—MURRAY'S 'THE GYPSY'

Hamewith, by Charles Murray, a collection of verse in the Buchan dialect of modern Scots, contains a fine ballad, 'The Gypsy,' worthy of a rendering into Romani by Dr. Sampson or Principal MacAlister.

13th January 1913.

ALEX. RUSSELL.

5.—HEDGEHOGS AS DAINTIES

It is at any rate a popular belief that the hedgehog is peculiarly associated with the Gypsies, a taste for this animal being almost as characteristic of the race as fortune-telling. Certain tribes in Germany are said to bear the hedgehog on their coats of arms, and the Archduke Joseph placed it as emblem on the title-page of his work on the Gypsies. Indeed, the literature gathered around these people bristles with references to it, and Richard Liebich records 'that the only indication of a belief in a future state which he ever detected in an old Gypsy woman, was that she once dreamed she was in heaven. It appeared to her as a large garden, full of fine fat hedgehogs.'

'Beware of sudden Change in any great point of diet,' counselled Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, and no doubt any peculiar constituent may be of historical importance. The fact that Gypsies evinced a special liking for hedgehogs in countries where these animals were not generally eaten might therefore have been an interesting clue. Pischel at any rate considered the custom suggestive, for he says in his *Beiträge* (p. 27): 'es zu wenig bekannt ist, dass der Igel als das eigentlich nationale Gericht wenigstens eines Teiles der Zigeuner angesehen werden muss,' and proceeds to deduce from the fact an argument in support of his theory of the origin of this people from the Hindu Kush. He does not, however, establish a connexion between any Romani word meaning hedgehog and an Indian progenitor, so that the Gypsies, if they derived the taste, did not, as might have been expected, bring with them from their original home the words with which to express it. Although it is not yet definitely known that hedgehogs are found in the Hindu Kush, they presumably occur there, since their presence in the countries all round it is recorded. But in Sanskrit the same words are apparently used indifferently for hedgehog and porcupine, and, according to Mr. J. E. Lockyer, the porcupine 'is a great favourite for a meal with the lower castes' in India.

Pischel himself is constrained to admit that 'es bleibt von Interesse und Wert, dass selbst die brahmanischen Inder Stachelträger als Nahrung nicht verschmähten. Stachelschwein und Igel werden auch im südlichen Europa und sonst gegessen.' To this I may add that the natives of Nigeria, whose origin is not claimed to be from the Hindu Kush, and who can hardly have learned the taste from the Gypsies, not only greatly appreciate hedgehogs as a delicacy, but also when found 'make a song and dance' about them. In appearance the hedgehog of Nigeria closely resembles the European type, although, like that found in districts round the Hindu Kush, it is actually of a different species. The Yoruba name for it is *lilit*, and the Hausa *bushia*; and both peoples esteem it as exceedingly good to eat, killing it by chopping at its head with a knife, and roasting it in the fire. They use the prickly skin as a comb for the beard and hair. My Hausa servant, a native of Kano, told me that in his country if a man found a hedgehog on his farm he was pleased, considering it a sign of good luck. He would carry it home, he said, show it to his friends, and play to it until it danced, singing:—

Bush, Bush, Bush, dakaya,
Hedgehog, hedgehog, hedgehog, with prickles,

Jia na taka arziki fadama.
Yesterday I touched the luck of the open bush.

A hedgehog with which he had played thus, he assured me, he would not eat but would let go again. Another Hausa, a woman of Zaria, however, told me that, when they were tired of playing with the hedgehog, her people would kill and eat it. According to her they would sing the following verse, the exact meaning of which is doubtful :—

‘ *Abu namuyi, namuyi.*
Dagato ke yi bushia,
Bana bana na taka arzikin fadama,
Ke yi bushia. ’

Dr. Hanns Vischer, Director of Education for Northern Nigeria, writing from Kano, confirms this information. He says that the Hausas all play with hedgehogs in this manner, considering them lucky. He himself has seen them dance.

J. W. S. MACFIE.

6.—GYPSIES IN FOLK-TALES OF SCHLESWIG

The second and third volumes of the *Schlesische Sagen*, edited by Richard Kühnau (*Schlesiens volkstümliche Überlieferungen*, vols. iv.-v.), contain several references to Gypsies, which are interesting as they show the character the Gypsies bear among the peasantry of that country. Most of them refer to an art which, so far as I am aware, is not attributed to the Gypsies outside Germany, the power of charming a house against fire. Such are ‘Der Feuersegen des Zigeuners zu Budissin’ (vol. iii. pp. 158-60). At the beginning of the seventeenth century a Gypsy family, almost all of whom were ill, tried to find shelter in Budissin. They were refused it by everybody except one poor man, who took them in and entertained them till they were well. When leaving, the Gypsy man murmured the fire-charm, and promised that the house would never be burned down, even if the whole of the rest of the town were. A few years later Budissin was conquered by Wallenstein, and, when the Saxons came back to regain the town after his departure, his deputy had the suburbs set on fire. The fire spread to the town, and only this one house in the Gaschwitz remained untouched, though the soldiers applied pitch-rings (*Pechkränze*) to the roof. It stood till 1840, when it was pulled down. The authorities for the tale are Haupt’s *Sagenbuch*, vol. i., 1862, p. 205; Klar, *Die helle Sagenquelle*, p. 101; and Grässe, *Sagenschatz des Königreichs Sachsen*, p. 484. The same tale is told about a house at Neubrunn in Franken (Bechstein, *Fränk. Sag.*, 1842, p. 278).

Very similar is the tale ‘Die Zigeuner gebieten über das Feuer und wissen Brände voraus’ (iii. p. 182). A large band of Gypsies came to Liebau in 1790, and were allowed by a baker living near the Catholic church to sleep in a garret. In the night his wife felt uneasy and went to look at them. She found a fire blazing on the floor and the Gypsies cooking at it. The baker went and ordered them to put the fire out; but he was told not to trouble his head about it, the house would never catch fire, though the whole town would be burned down twice and the flames would surround the house. The town has been burned down twice and the house has survived both fires unhurt (Patschovsky, *Sagen des Kreises Landeshut*, 1893, p. 10).

At Steinbach near Liebenstein too, which used to be visited frequently by Gypsies, a party, who were allowed to sleep in a barn, lit a fire there, and the flames reached to the upper story, in which lay the unthreshed harvest. The owner complained; but was assured that no harm would be done. In proof of their power the Gypsies held whole sheaves of straw in the flames and repeated the fire-charm over them, and they were untouched. The peasants were convinced,

and they believe that a village where Gypsies have lodged can never be burned (iii. p. 160, from L. Bechstein, *Mythe, Sage, etc.*, 1854, p. 49).

A more modern instance is forthcoming from Fürstlich-Langenau near Katscher. A shoemaker in that village has a cottage in which he allowed the Gypsies to stop. They lit a fire on the floor and made a hole in the roof for the smoke to go out. When they left, they assured him the cottage would never be burned: and he is convinced it never will be, as they know a thing or two (*die können mehr als Brot essen*). The houses on both sides of it have been burned and the cottage left (iii. p. 196).

It may be noted that, when any explanation of these miracles is given, they are attributed to a spoken charm, and not to the herb from Little Egypt to which some other authorities refer them;¹ and the Gypsies are credited too with the ability to cause fire by a curse as well as to ward it off. The same shoemaker's wife had a tale of a Gypsy woman who was begging in the village. She called at a small inn, found no one at home, took a piece of ham that was hanging in the kitchen, and went on her way. The innkeeper followed her, mishandled her and her child, took the ham away from her and hit her in the face with it. She told him he would remember the day and his acts. Not long afterwards the innkeeper took to boozing and went off his head. He set fire to his own house, and ended his days in gaol (iii. p. 196). The curse on this occasion was certainly vague enough; but at times it is more definite. At Nieder-Blasdorf some Gypsies were refused alms at an inn called the Hof, but were more successful at the mill (*Marien-Mühle*) close by. One of them told the miller that the inn would often have fires, and would be destroyed by them at definite intervals, while the mill would never be touched (iii. pp. 182-3, from Patschovsky, *Sagen des Kreises Landeshut*, 1893, p. 40).

Those are all the instances of their command over fire; but there are two tales which attribute to them St. Patrick's power of banishing undesirable creatures from a district. At Sorah near Budissin no sparrows are ever seen, and, if one enters the district, it cannot stay. The peasants say this is because Gypsies, who were allowed to stop there, charmed them away (iii. pp. 295-6, from Haupt, *Sagenbuch*, vol. i., 1862, p. 206; and Budaeus, *Sing. Lus.*, xvi. 240). The tale 'Die Verbannung der Sperlinge in Neugericht,' taken from a paper called 'Sonntag aus Wüstewaltersdorf' in the *Schlesische Provinzial-Blätter* for 1870, p. 512, is much the same. About one hundred and fifty years ago Gypsies were allowed to stop some weeks in the Scholtisei of the Leuchtmann family. The district used to be overrun with sparrows; but the mother of the band charmed them away. Kühnau's authority says he had lived since 1847 in Wüstewaltersdorf and never seen a sparrow there, and a schoolmaster named Bienewald had noticed that any sparrows which came within the charmed circle flew away screeching (iii. pp. 296-7).

From Fürstlich-Langenau comes another quaint superstition. That village ought to be a Gypsy paradise, since the inhabitants think it necessary to give Gypsies something whenever they come. For, if they are refused, they take ropes from the courtyard, drag them through the fruit trees, and then bury them. As the ropes rot, the trees die (iii. 195-6, from a widow of Langenau).

Besides these tales there are two of simple prophecy, one of bewitching, and another which suggests some connexion between Gypsies and fairies. A Gypsy who stopped on a farm at Landeshut at the beginning of the seventeenth century prophesied that after his death a holy place (*Heiligtum*) would be built there, and in 1709 the ground was bought for the erection of an Evangelical church (iii. pp. 492-3, from Patschovsky, *Sagen des Kreises Landeshut*, 1893, p. 5). A Gypsy woman who met Martin Pumputh of Lausitz, a kind of local Eulenspiegel, when a child, prophesied that he would go far in the world, though he would not rise high, he would get much wealth and make a great sensation, and at last would come by his

¹ Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 78 and 236.

death through a woman ; all of which was fulfilled (iii. p. 161, from Haupt, *Sagenbuch*, i., 1862, p. 185 ; and Gräve, *Volkssagen*, p. 83).

A peasant's daughter was working in the garden at Barzdorf and saw a Gypsy passing. She said in jest to her companion that she would marry him. The Gypsy overhearing her came to the wall, looked fixedly at her and said, 'Don't you forget what you have just promised.' A few days later she disappeared. Her father pursued the Gypsies and found her married to the man. She refused to return ; but years later the troop came through the village, and she admitted that, in spite of good treatment, the continual wandering disagreed with her and she was very unhappy. Still she could not leave the troop, as the man had bewitched her when he first set eyes on her (iii. pp. 219-20, from an old woman at Patschkau).

When the rocks at Mullwitz were used to build a church at Schedlau the fairy dwarfs, the Fänsweibchen, who dwelt in them, took the first child baptized in the church, which happened to be the child of the foreman of the men who had destroyed their home, and put a changeling in its place. The child was lost for three years, and then the parents happened to tell a Gypsy woman. She led them to the witches' spring in the hill, the Fänsquelle, and there they found their child (ii. p. 121, from Blaschke of Arnsdorf and Karl Spallek of Friedland).

15th January 1913.

E. O. WINSTEDT.

7.—A BORROVIAN SONG

The following version of Borrow's 'Song of the Broken Chastity' is exactly as written down for me, some years ago, by one of the Lees :—

A romany chie beshing adray the tan
pen to locky die Mandys dearo die
Mook Mandy roomer the rie the gorgo rie
the barvello rie he choomered mandy adray
the tan You wafedo chie lesty is a
lubeny gall avre Mandys tan and gall
to lestys rie Mandy keckerni com the rie
the gorgo rie the waferdo rie ourly pen
the romany chie Mandy will gall and
gall to Mandys rie gall gall pen the
Romany die and Keckerni have porly
akie no comy.

C. F. SLADE.

8.—ALLUSION TO GYPSIES circa 1650

In describing the religious orders of the Mohammedans, Alexander Ross makes an allusion to the English Gypsies which is perhaps worth noting. 'Their fourth order,' he says, 'called Torlachs, are cloathed like the Dervises, but that they wear also a Beare-skin instead of a Cloak, but they go bare-headed and shaven ; they anoint their heads with Oyl aganst cold ; and burn their temples aganst defluxions. Their life is beastly and beggerly, living in ignorance and idlenesse ; they are begging in every corner, and are dangerous to meet with in Desart places, for they will rob and plunder ; they professe Palmestry like our Gipsies, who use to pick silly womens pockets as they are looking in their hands. They carry about with them an old man whom they worship as a Prophet ; when they mean to have money from any rich man, they repair to his house, and the old man there

prophesieth destruction against that house; which to prevent, the Master of the house desires the old mans prayers, and so dismisseth him and his train with money, which they spend wickedly; for they are given to Sodomy and all uncleanness' (ΠΑΝΣΕΒΕΙΑ . . . the third edition, London, 1658, pp. 168-169). The first edition appeared in 1653; the author died in 1654.

This, although not very important in 1653, is an interesting testimony to the bad reputation of the Gypsies in the seventeenth century.

WILLIAM E. A. AXON.

24th February 1913.

9.—A BAVARIAN GYPSY LAW

An early edition of the collected Bavarian laws is entitled:—

*Das buech der gemeinen-land. | pot · Landsordnung · Satzung · | vnd Gebreuch
· des Fürstenn · | thümb · in Obern · vnd Nidern | Bairn · Im fünfzehnhundert
und | Sechzehendem Jar außgericht | Folio [Munich (? Schobser) 1520].*

In *Das Erst tail* and on *Das xiiii blat* [c. ii. verso] is a law against Gypsies:—

Den Raisygen vnd Fuessknechten die nit
dienst noch versprecher habñ. Auch den
zygeynern Im lannd zewonen : vnd vmb
zeziehen nit zugestatten.

Alls in des heiligen Reychs Lanndssfriden vnd Ordnung/vnd darauf von vnnsern Vorfarñ von wegen der Raisigñ vnd füessknecht/die nit dienst vnd versprecher habñ. Auch der Zygeynerhalben/nachuoolgenndt mainung vnd gepot/inzwayen Artigkñ vergriffen. Ist demnach vnser ernnstlich haissen/vnnd wöllen mit Rathe vnnser Lanndtschaft/das menigklich in vnserm Fürstenthumb/in laüt vnd nach vermög derselben/gegen den Raysigen vnnd füessknechtñ/die nit dienst noch versprecher haben/vnd sich verdecktlich hallten/vnd jrs wesenns vnd handlung nyemandt wissen hat/mit erjnnrdung des Lanndfridens/ernnstlich hanndt/Dessgleich den Zygeynern/die dann den Armenleuten aufm [C. iii. recto] lannde vil zwangs thün/vnd schadñ züefüegen/in vnserm Fürstenthumb nit merhin vnd wider zeziehen gestatt werde. Inmassen dann desshalben verganngner jar dergleych Lanndpot in hernachuerschribem forñ aussganngen findt.

Nemlichen.

Nachdem vil Raysyg vnnd füessknecht seyen/der ains tails gar khain herrschafft haben/auch ettlich mit diennsten verpflicht/darjnn sy sich doch wesennlich nit hallten/oder die herrschafft/darauf sy sich versprechen/jr zü recht nit mächtig/sonnder jm lannd jrem vortail vnd reytterey nachreytñ/

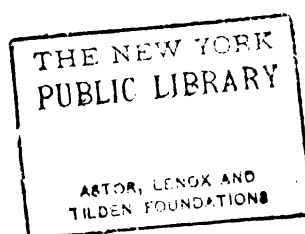
Ordnen setzen vnd wöllen wir/das hinfüro sölh Raysig vnd füessknecht/nit mer geduldet oder aufenthalten/sonder wo die/in vnserm lannde/betretten/söllñ sy fenugklich angenommen/herttigklich gefragt/vnd vmb jr misshandlung ernnstlich gestrafft/vnd auss wenigist Ir hab vnd güet genomen/auch mit ayde vnnd pürgschaft nach nottürfft verpunden werden

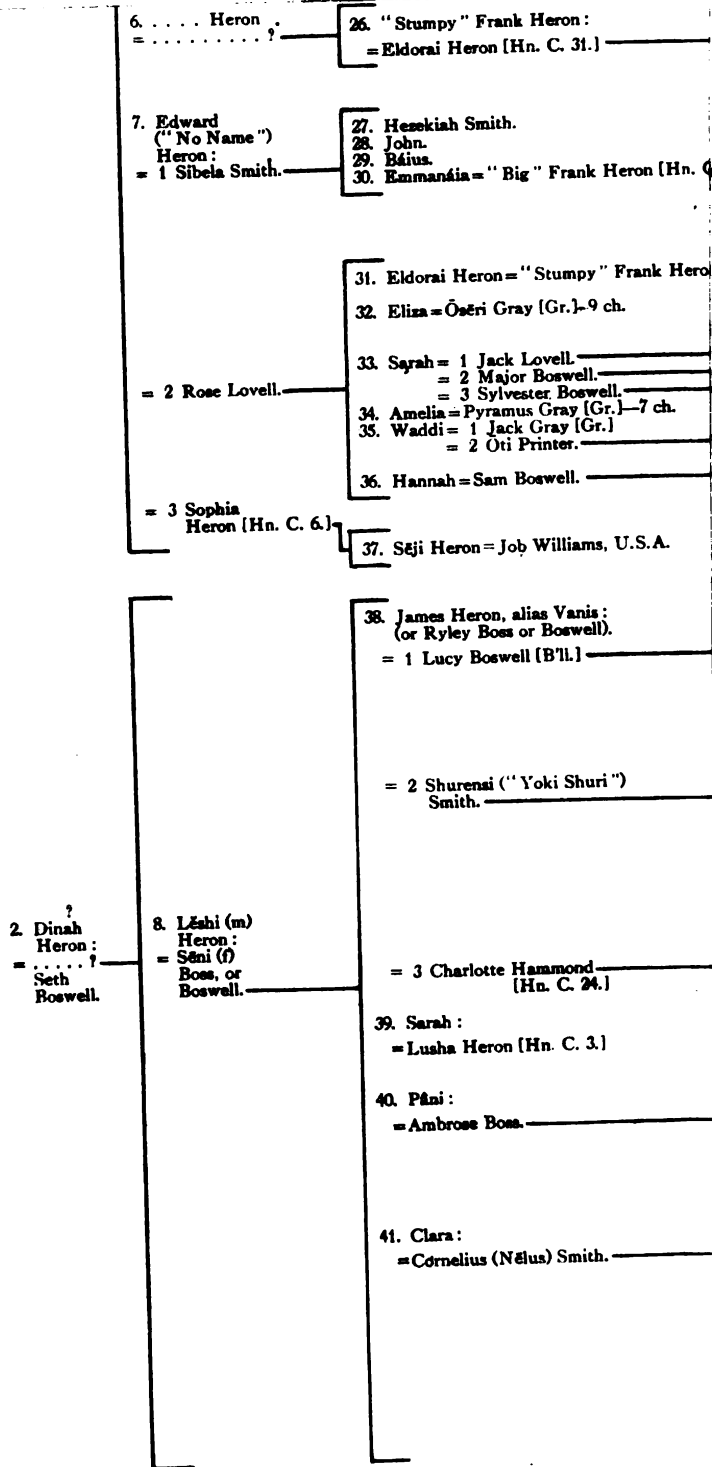
Verpot wider die zygeyner.

Nachdem man auch ain lautter anzeygen hat/das die Zygeyner/Erfarer/Speher/vnd kundtschaffter der Cristenhait seyen/hyerauf söllen sy sich aus vnnsern lannden thün. sich der eüssern/vnd darjnn nit mer vinden lassen. Wo sy aber weytter darjnn betretten/vnd yemands mit der that/gegen jnen zehandln fürnemen würde/der sol gegen vns/vnnd seiner öbrigkeit/oder herrschafft/daran nit gefräuellet oder vnrechts gethan haben.

Helio-
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He





G.

Helvinia (f) Huggins
Jack
Anley.
am.
chie.
thur.

Anna Heron.
bris.
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nce (m).

Sta Belfegum Thomas
pe Aylwin.
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ristmas.

red Ayres.
le.

da (m) Mochan.

ph.

ld.

Heron (f) Heron.

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I.—PREFACE TO THE HERON PEDIGREE

By GEORGE HALL

A LITTLE more than twenty-five years ago I began to collect data for the Heron pedigree, which, though still imperfect, is now printed for the first time, an occasion which seems to demand a few introductory notes and explanations. Much might be said concerning the pleasures and disappointments attending the work: as I look over the array of names, I am reminded of many a journey, undertaken invariably with eagerness, if sometimes with scant result, to horse-fairs, race-courses, and remote encampments, in quest of genealogical facts. Moreover, the selfsame array recalls numerous anecdotes, scraps of lore, and traditional tales, gleanings from the tents of the Herons, a selection from which, together with some account of the Heron family derived from documentary and oral sources, I hope to give in a future number of our Journal.

No facts are included in the pedigree which have not been corroborated several times over by members of the Heron family in whom I have always been able to place full reliance. Seldom, if ever, have I discovered any discrepancies in the genealogical information imparted to me by the late Isaac Heron and his son

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and daughter, Īza and Trēnit (D 24, E 35 and E 34). Having sometimes taken the trouble to commit to memory a particular section of the tree, I have repeated it to Īza, who would look surprised, and say: 'I've heard my old dad give all that just as you've said it, but how came you to know it? You certainly don't look a hundred year old. What you've told me is all right, wherever you've got it from.' I verily believe that almost the whole of the Heron tree might be obtained anew from Īza and his sister.

Rich as has been the store of facts gleaned from Isaac and his children, they were by no means my only authorities. Quite early in my pedigree-work I realised the immense value of aged Gypsies, and all along I have made extensive use of them. There have been old Gypsies (both nomad and sedentary) known to me, not among Herons only, but also among members of other clans allied by marriage to them, who have possessed marvellous memories for genealogies, and whose statements were concordant to an extent that was amazing. I have gathered many facts for the pedigree from them. For instance, Isaac Heron married Sinfai Gray, and Sinfai (bless her memory) knew almost as much of the Heron pedigree as she did of that of her own clan. It was the same if I found a Heron who had married, say, a Boswell: the Boswell consort would know a great deal of the Heron pedigree. In this way I have been able to check the accounts of different informants, and between these independent accounts a truly wonderful agreement has generally been found to exist. Only once do I remember having been victimised. In spite of my kindnesses to him, a certain representative of Coalvillian George's beloved 'posh-gypsies' remained suspicious of me to the very end of our interview. At first he seemed to know a good deal about a branch of the Heron family concerning which I was wanting information; but I soon began to feel instinctively that the half-breed was purposely misleading me. I therefore led him to speak of another branch with which I myself was familiar, and which he said he knew as well as the first; but what he poured out with great fluency was nothing but a tissue of lies. Absolutely everything this man told me was untrue. I let him go on as long as he pleased on that occasion, resolving to avoid him in future.

I have often found, when making inquiries, that my own familiarity with a Gypsy's ancestry has given him confidence in me and has awakened a genuine interest in the questions which

I put to him. One of my best helpers was old Eldorai Jane Boswell of Derby—her husband Nelson was a son of Trënit Heron (D 27) and Moses Boswell—who would frequently get so rapt away into the past that she would speak of the departed as if they were living still, and would wind up by saying: 'But, there, it's a very long time since I saw any of them.'

To be sure, Gypsies are not always in the mood for imparting this kind of information, and note-books and pencils must not as a rule be produced in their presence. Sitting in a tent not long ago with two elderly Gypsy women, both widows, I happened to mention the name of the husband of one of them. A marked silence followed, a peculiar look crept over the faces of my friends, and I saw it would be advisable to change the subject. Yet not half-a-dozen yards away, in a *vardo*, I came upon a sister-in-law of the two women just mentioned, who was also a widow, and for some reason, which I cannot explain, she was in the mood to speak quite freely about her deceased *rom*.

It is not easy to extract from some Gypsies all the names of an ancestor's numerous wives. Modern influences have made the sedentary Gypsy in particular very sensitive on this point. He has settled, become respectable, and does not wish the *gawjé* to know how his old folk carried on. He naturally dislikes to have it thrown in his teeth that he himself is not really married, because the ceremony was not solemnized at church or at a registrar's office, protesting: 'The neighbours tells me my children are illergittermint; and the priest says as how I'm living in mortal sin, but I've allus been faithful to my missis, and she has to me.'

A similar difficulty arises in connexion with the transportation of ancestors, which frequently led to changes of family-names. I once met a Stanley, a very fine type of Gypsy, who had taken the name of Richardson because his father had been *bitshado pawdel*, and it only leaked out quite casually that he was a Stanley at all. Old Harriet Williams, who was married to Jack Gray, dropped the name Gray when her husband was transported. Some of the Bakers, who were sent across the sea, had at the time of their arrest borne the *alias* of Hope, and this name appears to have been adopted by their children. Sometimes an informant would deliberately withhold from me the name of a kinsman who I knew had been transported, so that it is not improbable that there will be found in the older generations more Herons who have

crossed the water for their country's good than we know about at present. The transportation of Gypsies is a subject calling urgently for investigation, and there are valuable 'transportation lists' awaiting consultation at the Public Record Office in London.

A kindred subject is that of Gypsy migration. From what Gypsies have told me I judge that there are many more cases of families having gone to America than are indicated in our pedigree. Would that some kind *Romano Rai* would obtain for us, for instance, the addresses, or whereabouts, of Sanspirella Heron's descendants who are in the United States!

Whatever practical reasons the Gypsies may have had in the past for preserving their pedigrees so fully, I do not think that they have any special reasons for doing so nowadays. Time was when Gypsies set great store on purity of race; their survival proves it. In that far-off past Gypsies would marry only with Gypsies, and we know that they inflicted severe punishments for unchastity and similar offences. But all internal organization has long disappeared from English Gypsy life, and the admission that it is mostly with degenerates that we have to deal to-day is inevitable: Gypsies no longer avoid marriage with their traditional enemies—the *gawjé*. Yet one meets with Gypsies now and then who still affect to hate non-Gypsies and all their ways.

The Gypsies marry early and live long; hence, as a rule, they easily remember their grandfather's generation (they may indeed be sixty years old before he dies), and some remember their great-grandparents. The extraordinary memories for pedigrees which many Gypsies whom I have known possessed may also be explained in a measure by the frequency of consanguineous marriages, for such unions would naturally tend to keep alive a knowledge of the common ancestry. Again, the Gypsies are continually travelling round and meeting their relations, and it has been observed that, when they are not engaged in work or in discussing business matters, they are mostly thinking and conversing about other Gypsies, alive or dead: as often as not they are recounting family history. For, let it be remembered, these people are practically foreigners, and patriotism means for them love of the Gypsy race, not love of the British nation, so that there is no reason why they should bother their heads one iota about current national affairs, politics, or religion.

Gypsy 'fore' or Christian names form a subject deserving a much closer attention than has hitherto been devoted to them. Speaking for myself, I know few more entrancing studies in the entire realm of Gypsyology. It has not been found practicable to include every nickname of every Heron in this large tree. Some Gypsies possess as many as three or four such names, and in them what strange stories sometimes lie hidden! Oti Gray, wife of Goliath Heron (D 36), told me not long ago that her real name was Yunakrai, and though I had heard of it before she told me, this queer name remained a puzzle until its owner whispered the little sentence 'Hue and cry': and thereby hangs a most pathetic tale of a transportation which took place seventy years ago. It has often occurred to me that a connexion exists between the use of nicknames and the tabu on the names of the dead; and this has received confirmation more than once within my personal experience, as, for instance, when, in a rare communicative mood, Isaac Heron asked me if I knew the name of his father. 'Niabai,' I answered, glibly enough. Then fixing his keen eyes upon me, the old man gave vent to a tiny chuckle: 'There, I thought mebbe you wouldn't *jin dova*. What you've told me was only his nickname. But my father was name't after his *koko* as were killed by a fire-ball out there by Horncastle in your country.'

'What, you surely don't mean "No Name"?'

'*Keka*; I mean "No Name's" *vaver nav*.'

'Was it Edward, then?'

'*Awa*; and after his *koko* died, my father was always called Niabai. That's the *deari Duvel's* truth, my *rai*.'

Instances of this usage might of course be multiplied, and in a future paper I shall take the opportunity of printing some examples.

A favourite *alias* of the Herons is the name Young. In his Introduction to *The Zincali*,¹ Borrow draws a vivid picture of three English Gypsies, one of whom, Gypsy Will,² he designates 'the head of the clan Young.' Of the two others, who are nameless, one has beautiful features and stands six feet three; the other, whimsically ugly, is lame. On one occasion I submitted to Isaac Heron a memorized version of this trio of pen-portraits, and

¹ *The Zincali*, 1908, pp. 19-23.

² Up to the time of writing, I have not been able to identify this Gypsy, though I may add that I am hot upon his trail.

he at once recognized the descriptions of his uncles, William 'the handsome man' (C 7) and Robert 'the lame man' (C 2), but apparently knew nothing whatever about Gypsy Will.

'How far has the mass of evidence you have collected been confirmed by other inquirers?' is a question which may fairly be asked. In a future article I shall have occasion to make liberal quotations from innumerable letters received from searchers who have aided me right loyally in the fascinating work of pedigree-hunting. It will then be seen how completely the evidence got together by myself, throughout a lengthy period and from innumerable sources, has been corroborated by the researches of many painstaking and kindly helpers.

For the present let me express the deep debt of gratitude which I owe to the following fellow-workers:—

Mr. Alfred Adams, of Melbourne, Australia, who has thrown a new light upon the subject of transported Gypsies.

Rev. D. M. M. Bartlett, who gathered from Isaac Heron a very interesting account of his great-grandfather Francis (A 1), the father of Richard Heron (B 1), as well as information clearing up the vexed question of the chronological order of Richard's numerous progeny.

Mr. William Eggleston and Mr. Alfred James, for many delightful letters respecting the Herons of South Wales.

Our Honorary Secretary, for notes obtained from Noah Young.

Rev. H. H. Malleison, for a detailed account of the children of Muldobriar and Marenni Heron (D 62 and D 72).

Mr. John Myers, who obtained for me at considerable trouble the names of the descendants of Solivaino Heron (C 1) and of Edmund Heron (D 18), most of whom migrated from East Anglia to South Wales, where they still travel with their tents and wagons.

Messrs. Smart and Crofton, for notes on the Herons in *The Dialect of the English Gypsies*.

Mr. T. W. Thompson, for excellent notes obtained from Joshua Gray.

Mr. E. O. Winstedt, for assistance in determining the parentage of Manuel (Mantis) Buckland (D 7).

Finally, I feel it my duty to place on record my sense of indebtedness to Dr. W. H. R. Rivers. After working for years, almost in solitude—almost, perhaps, ashamed of a hobby which was more apt to excite ridicule than attract sympathy—I found

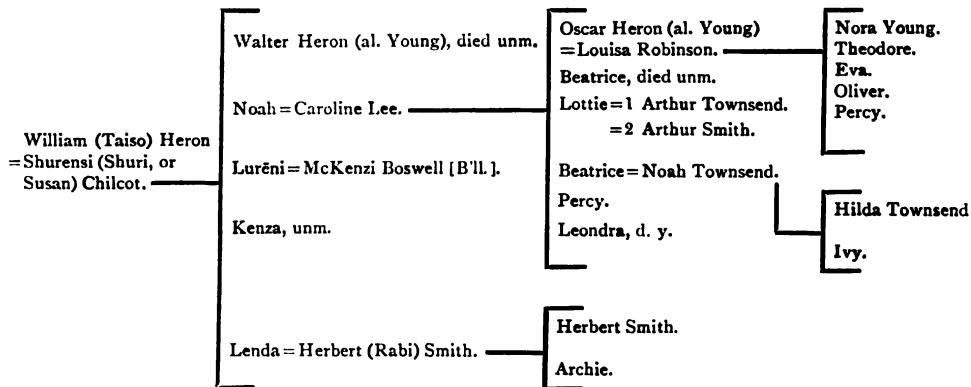
my justification and my encouragement in his admirable article on 'The Genealogical Method of Anthropological Inquiry' (*The Sociological Review*, January 1910). It was as if, having dug pyrites, I had found it was gold. Since then Dr. Rivers has with the greatest kindness continually inspired me to persevere towards greater completeness and greater accuracy, and finally he has laid both myself and the Gypsy Lore Society under a heavy obligation by writing the masterly analysis which follows this paper.

It may here be pointed out that, as a rule, in this *stemma* the male line only is recorded, though occasionally, where the descendants are not numerous, the female descent has been included. For female descent generally, however, reference is made to other trees still unpublished, *e.g.* [B'll.] = Boswell; [Gr.] = Gray. Cross-references within the Heron tree itself are likewise contained in square brackets. Thus: [Hn. B 7] = Heron, Generation B, Individual 7.

The following abbreviations are also used: al. = alias; ch. = child, children; d.y. = died young; (f.) = female; (m.) = male; unnm. = unmarried; U.S.A. = United States of America.

In regard to the spelling of names, ordinary names are spelt in the ordinary manner, while extraordinary names are recorded phonetically.

By an unfortunate omission from the copy sent to the printers, all the descendants of William (Taiso) Heron (D 30) were omitted from the pedigree. The following is the missing section, which is not included in Dr. Rivers's analysis:



It may also be mentioned that Tom Brown (D 55) had a son named Noah, now deceased.

II.—NOTES ON THE HERON PEDIGREE COLLECTED
BY THE REV. GEORGE HALL

By W. H. R. RIVERS

THE practical importance of the subject of genealogy is well recognized. Our own pedigrees are collected and preserved as the means whereby to show rights to property or rank, and those of animals have long been an indispensable instrument to guide the breeder and the fancier. It is only, however, in quite recent times that the value of pedigrees as instruments of scientific research has been recognized; and just as they have been found to be of practical utility in law and breeding, so is it in the sciences of sociology and biology that their value is making itself felt. The object of these notes is to illustrate the sociological and biological importance of genealogy by means of the pedigree of the Heron family which has been so fully and carefully recorded by the Rev. George Hall. My object is to point out, not so much the biological and sociological lessons which can be learnt from this pedigree, but rather the lines on which such a study will become possible when we have a more ample collection of Gypsy pedigrees. It must only be taken as a sample of the kind of research which it is to be hoped the industry and zeal of students of Gypsy life will make possible.

A few introductory remarks pointing out how the study of genealogy is now becoming helpful to the biologist and the sociologist may not be out of place. In biology, there are two chief lines of research in which pedigrees are of service, viz. the study of heredity, and the collection of what I may call vital statistics, such as the proportion of the sexes and the average size of the family. I propose later in this paper to use the Heron pedigree as a means of demonstrating the value of pedigrees in the collection of vital statistics, and I need only now consider their value in the study of heredity. In order that a pedigree shall be of use in this study it is necessary that we should have records of the physical and mental characters of the living members of the pedigree. I do not know that we have at present any such data from the Heron family or from any other Gypsies, and I must be content to indicate the kind of inquiry in which the pedigree before us might be useful if such data were collected. Mr. Hall tells me that the Heron family includes both tall and short members, and that some at any

rate of the shorter people are descended from 'Stumpy' Frank Heron (C 26), while the sons of Richard Heron (B 1) are said to have been 'a race of giants.' If the height of every living member of the Heron family were recorded, we should obtain a body of facts which, in combination with the pedigree before us, would make it possible to discover definitely how far shortness of stature is a characteristic of the descendants of 'Stumpy' Frank Heron, and whether there apply to this subject those laws of heredity which we owe to the genius of Mendel. In the same way, the Heron pedigree would make possible the exact study of any other physical or mental character which could be examined in the persons of the living members of the Heron family. This would be particularly important if any members of the Heron family should be found to suffer from such variations as colour-blindness, unusual forms of astigmatism of the eye, or other conditions which are known to be, or are probably, hereditary. A complete record of the presence or absence of these variations in the living members of the family would furnish us with data which, by means of the pedigree, would become material of the utmost value for the study of the heredity of the variations.

The other science in which genealogy is especially useful is sociology, and I propose to deal at greater length with this use of pedigrees because it is one which is at present little known, and is yet capable of contributing greatly to the exact knowledge of social phenomena. By means of pedigrees such as that of the Heron family it is possible to study in detail, and often statistically, many social institutions and customs the exact study of which would otherwise be impossible.¹ It is among people who possess no written records that the method is particularly useful. Among several such peoples it has given results which could have been obtained in no other way.² By means of pedigrees it is possible to study exactly the working of the laws which govern the regulation of marriage, the inheritance of property, and the transmission of rank or office. Pedigrees also provide data for the study of other social conditions, such as personal nomenclature and the recent history of the people. I propose to illustrate some of these uses by means of the Heron pedigree, and I begin with the subject of marriage.

¹ For a general account of the method see a paper on 'The Genealogical Method of Anthropological Inquiry,' *Sociological Review*, 1910, vol. iii. p. 1.

² See Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), and *Reports Cambridge Exp. to Torres Straits*, vols. v. and vi., 1904 and 1908.

MARRIAGE

The Heron pedigree furnishes us with a record of Gypsy marriages extending over a period of six generations. Even if all these marriages had been recorded in the official registers of the country, the pedigree would have the advantage of giving us direct social information which could only be obtained indirectly from the examination of official registers by the expenditure of much time and trouble. Further, the record provided by the pedigree is even more valuable than such a compilation from official registers, for in many cases it gives us the exact relationship of those who have married, information which it would often be difficult or impossible to obtain by the examination of marriage registers.

The use of the Heron pedigree I have now to consider is that it makes possible the exact study of various features of the institution of marriage as practised by the Gypsies. Thus, it enables us to study exactly, and even statistically, the extent to which the Gypsies limit their marriages to their own body, the extent to which they practise marriage between relatives, the prevalence of polygamy, and the nature of the marriages of widows and widowers. I shall consider these subjects in turn, pointing out, as occasion arises, any features which introduce difficulties into the use of the details of the pedigree for exact inquiry.

GYPSY ENDOGAMY

The first subject I shall consider is how far the pedigree shows the limitation of marriage among the Gypsies to their own body, or, to adopt a technical term, how far the Gypsy community is endogamous. In connexion with the supposed Indian origin of the Gypsies this question is of great interest, for in the castes of India we have perhaps the most definite example in the world of endogamous social groups.

In the first table I have put together the facts obtained from the Heron pedigree which bear on this problem. In the first two lines of this table are given the number of families and of marriages available for study in each of the successive generations B, C, D, E, F of the pedigree, while in the last two lines are given the number of marriages in each generation with Gâjo or Gâji, and with those of mixed Gâjo and Gypsy stock. The figures giving the number of marriages need a word of comment. Wherever there has taken place a marriage between two members of the

pedigree I have counted it as one marriage. Where these marriages have taken place between persons of the same generation this has introduced no difficulty, but there are a number of cases in which persons of different generations have intermarried, and I have counted such marriages to the older of the two generations to which the consorts belonged. I have, however, given in

TABLE I.

SHOWING FREQUENCY OF MARRIAGE WITH NON-GYPSIES

	B	C	D	E	F	
Number of families .	2	7	23	28	29	
Number of marriages .	10	37(1)	71(1)	64(5)	34(2)	
Marriages with {	(a) Non-Gypsies . .	1	0	7	14*	5
	(b) Those of mixed stock	0	4	5	18	12

* The traveller (E 4) and doctor (E 19) are counted as Gâjo.

brackets the number of cases which would have to be added to the figures if these marriages had been ascribed to the younger instead of to the older generation, so that any one can make the necessary correction if a different method of assigning these marriages to their respective generations should be preferred. The point is of little importance in my present use of the pedigree for the purpose of illustration, but it would become important in any attempt at exact statistical inquiry on a large scale.

It must be pointed out also, that in drawing up this table I have counted as pure Gypsies those who bear Gypsy names, as Gâjo those with names known to be wholly unconnected with the Gypsies, while 'those of mixed stock' are persons who bear names known to Mr. Hall as having intermarried with the Gypsies. As a matter of fact, this method is far from accurate, for the pedigree shows that many people bearing true Gypsy names are nevertheless of mixed blood. Thus, to take only one example, Esther Winter (E 71) has been counted as a pure Gypsy because she bears a Gypsy name, but she was the descendant of a marriage between a Heron and an Elliot, and the Elliots are not a pure Gypsy family but of mixed stock. The figures must thus be taken as only rough approximations to those which would be obtained by a more thorough and detailed analysis.

If, with this proviso in our minds, we examine the figures, we find that in the generation B of the pedigree there is only one marriage with a Gájo, and that in the next generation there is no such case, but four marriages with persons of mixed stock. This is in striking contrast with the figures for the three later generations. While in the first two generations only one in forty-seven marriages is with a Gájo and only four in forty-seven with those of mixed stock, the proportion of Gájo marriages rises in the later generations to 15 per cent., and those with mixed stock to more than 20 per cent. The pedigree thus provides clear evidence of a great increase in the extent to which the Heron family has married outside a limited circle of pure Gypsy families. It shows that four and five generations ago it was rare for a Heron to marry one who was not partially or wholly a Gypsy, and that in recent generations there has been a great modification of the old endogamy.

If we compare the three generations D, E, and F with one another, it is evident that the breaking down of the old endogamy has been a progressive change which is probably still going on. The number of marriages outside the body of pure Gypsies is very much larger in generation E than in generation D. It would be even larger than it appears if it were not for the fact that no less than seven of the marriages with other than pure Gypsies in generation D are those of people who are comparatively young; though these people belong to the present period of time and would in ordinary language be counted as of the present generation, they have to be counted as of the generation of the grandparents of the child-bearing people of the present day, in the more exact sense in which the term is here used.

MARRIAGE WITH RELATIVES

The pedigree having thus shown the great predominance of marriages within the Gypsy community in the past and the progressive breaking down of this practice, we can turn to the character of the marriages within the community, and the first subject I shall consider is the influence of consanguinity on marriage. There is no more universal feature of human society than the importance attached to the relation between marriage and kinship. We know of no people whose social regulations do not show an interest in this subject, an interest often so profound that it may

be said to form the keystone of their social organization and the basis of their morality. Among all peoples of rude culture there exist definite regulations about such marriages; in many there are social mechanisms, often of great complexity, whose main or only function is to prevent certain forms of marriage between relatives. The study of such regulations, and of the social mechanisms by which they become effective, furnishes one of the most important branches of sociology, and it is in this study that genealogy is of such pre-eminent importance.

TABLE II.

SHOWING FREQUENCY OF MARRIAGE WITH RELATIVES

	B	C	D	E	F
Number of families . . .	2	7	23	28	29
Number of marriages . . .	10	37(1)	71(1)	64(5)	34(2)
Brother and sister . . .	0	1	0	0	0
Uncle and niece . . .	1	1	1	0	0
First cousins . . .	0	3	1	2	4*
Second cousins . . .	...	2	3	5	0
Third cousins . . .	...	0	6	1	0
First cousins once removed	...	1	3	2	0
Second cousins once removed . . .	...	0	1	0	0

* In two of these cases (F 46-55 and F 47-52) husband and wife were also related as third cousins.

Table II. shows that there is one case (C 9-22) in the pedigree in which a man has married his half-sister by the same father but by a different mother. There are two cases (B 7-C 6 and C 13-D 28) of marriage with the daughter of a brother, and another (D 25-E 27) with the daughter of a half-brother. It is noteworthy that these four closely consanguineous marriages were contracted by descendants of Richard Heron (B 1). It remains to be seen whether similar marriages will be found in other pedigrees, but their occurrence only in one part of this pedigree suggests that they were exceptional.

The remaining consanguineous marriages are between cousins of the same generation or of different generations (cousins once removed), and these two categories may be considered separately, there being twenty-seven cases belonging to the former and seven to the latter.

Of the twenty-seven marriages between cousins of the same generation, ten were between first cousins, ten between second cousins, and seven¹ between third cousins. None are recorded between fourth and fifth cousins, though the former are possible in generation E and both in generation F. Such marriages, however, may be found in the pedigrees of the families into which the Herons have intermarried.

The ratio between the number of consanguineous marriages in each generation and the total number of marriages in that generation is distinctly larger in the earlier than in later generations, but owing to the fact that no less than twenty-one of the marriages of generation C are those of the children of one father, the proportion in that generation is really much larger than the figures show. Taking this factor into account, it is evident that consanguineous marriages were decidedly more frequent in the early than in later generations.

If the later generations had been as prone to marry within their own community as the earlier, we should have expected to find some cases of marriage between fourth cousins in generation E, and between fourth and fifth cousins in generation F. As a matter of fact, not only are such marriages absent, but there is only one marriage between third cousins in generation E, while in the only cases in which third cousins have married in generation F, the parties to the marriages were also related as first cousins.

The conclusion therefore suggested by this pedigree is that marriage between first cousins has been a frequent practice throughout the history of the Heron family down to the present day, but that there has been a great diminution in the frequency of marriage between more distant relatives. How far this is due to the increasing frequency of marriage with Gâjo, and how far to marriage with a wider circle of Gypsy families, cannot be decided without further information.

¹ This number would be increased by two if there be added the marriages from generation F (F 46-55 and F 47-52), in which husband and wife were also related as first cousins.

Marriages between cousins of different generations are decidedly less frequent than between those of the same generation, and the fact that unions between a person and the child of his or her first cousin are more frequent than those with the child of a second or third cousin suggests a definite tendency towards the marriage of near relatives. In so large a pedigree we might well have expected a considerable number of the latter kinds of marriage if these consanguineous unions were merely the result of the tendency to endogamy. The greater proportion of marriages with the child of a first cousin tends to confirm the conclusion, suggested by the marriages of cousins of the same generation, that such unions are the outcome of a definite social tendency towards the marriage of near relatives, and are not merely the natural result of marriage within a limited community.

A point of great interest, well illustrated by the pedigree, concerns the kinds of cousin between whom these marriages have taken place. In many parts of the world cousins fall into two categories according as they are the children of brothers or of sisters on the one hand, or of brother and sister on the other. Marriage between cousins of the former category is nearly always most strictly forbidden, while between children of a brother and sister it may not only be allowed, but may even be enjoined and regarded as the most orthodox union.¹ This kind of marriage, which is now generally known as the cross-cousin marriage, is a widespread Indian custom,² being probably characteristic of the earlier or Dravidian element of the population; it is therefore of great interest to inquire how far there is any evidence of its presence among the Gypsies. Examination of the Heron pedigree shows no special tendency for the cousin marriages of the Gypsies to take this form. Of the ten marriages between first cousins, four belong to the cross-cousin category, as against five between the children of brothers, and one between the children of sisters. Further, there is no case of cross-cousin marriage in the two earliest generations. The pedigree thus furnishes no evidence for any special tendency towards the cross-cousin marriage, but rather points the other way. The smaller number of marriages between the children of sisters, or of brother and sister, as compared with those between the children of brothers, suggests that

¹ In this marriage a man marries the daughter of his mother's brother or of his father's sister. The marriage of Tom James Elliot and Perpagellion Heron in generation D is the earliest example in the pedigree.

² See *Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, 1907, p. 611.

the marriage of cousins among the Gypsies may be associated with a tendency for those of the same name to intermarry, and this in its turn would suggest that Gypsy endogamy may once have applied to an even narrower circle than the Gypsy community as a whole.

The nature of the cousin marriages of the Heron family has a very interesting parallel. Marriage between the children of brothers is frequent among Semitic peoples, and a country in which we have definite evidence of the prevalence of this form of marriage as the orthodox union is Egypt. If the examination of other Gypsy pedigrees should show that the Heron family is not exceptional in this respect,¹ we should have at least one social feature which would bring the Gypsies into relation with the country to which they owe their popular name.

EXCHANGE OF BROTHERS AND SISTERS

In some parts of the world there is an established custom whereby a brother and sister marry sister and brother. When a man marries a woman, it is arranged that, either then or later, the bridegroom's sister shall marry the bride's brother. There is only one case² of such a marriage in the Heron pedigree, viz. that of Fowk and Louisa Heron with Edward and Polly Elliot respectively in generation C, so that it does not appear to be a frequent Gypsy practice. Among some peoples the custom is definitely associated with the bride-price, and may be the means of avoiding or diminishing the payment of this impost, but the single case in the Heron pedigree is probably due to the cause which so often produces this form of marriage among ourselves, viz. the opportunity for acquaintance due to friendship between two families, a friendship which may itself be the result of intermarriage. It may be noted that there is one case in the pedigree in which two brothers (D 62 and 64) married two sisters (D 71 and 72), but this receives a natural explanation through their relationship as second cousins.

POLYGAMY

The Heron pedigree contains four cases of polygamy, in each of which a man had more than one wife. These cases are Richard

¹ It may be noted that in the Boss pedigree previously published by Mr. Hall (*Gypsy and Folk-Lore Gazette*, vol. i. p. 120), the only case of marriage between first cousins is of the cross-cousin variety.

² The marriage of F 66 and 67 may possibly be another example of the practice.

Heron (B 1) with two wives; his brother Edward (B 7) with three wives; James Heron, *alias* Ryley, Boss or Boswell (C 38), with three wives; and Edmund Heron (D 18), two of whose three wives were alive at the same time. Among people who practise polygyny, there is sometimes a rule that the wives should be related to one another, and there may even be a rule that a man who marries a woman becomes, or may become, at the same time the husband of her sisters. There is no case of this practice in the pedigree, but the second and third wives of D 18 were mother and daughter, and Mr. Hall tells me that he knows of another instance of this relationship between the wives of a Gypsy.

There is no case of polyandry in the pedigree.

MARRIAGE OF WIDOWS AND WIDOWERS

Among many peoples there are definite rules regulating the marriage of a widow or widower. One is that known as the Levirate, in which a widow should normally marry the brother of her deceased husband. The custom is found in a definite form in India, where the right to take a widow to wife is usually limited to the younger brother of the husband. There is nothing in the Heron pedigree which even remotely suggests such a practice among the Gypsies. There are two cases in which a woman had three husbands, and eight cases in which there were two, but only in one case (E 34) is there evidence that the husbands were related to one another, and then only as second cousins, both being Herons. In each case in which a woman had three husbands, two of these were Boswells.

The custom which corresponds with that just considered, in the case of a widower, is that a man shall marry his deceased wife's sister. There are two cases of such a marriage in the Heron pedigree, viz. those of C 8 and E 40, whose wives were sisters; and there is another case, E 41, in which the successive wives were second cousins. In none of the other cases is there direct evidence of relationship, though it is possible that such relationship would be found to exist if we had the complete pedigrees of the families with which the Herons have intermarried.

OTHER SOCIOLOGICAL USES OF PEDIGREES

I have already mentioned that, among many peoples, genealogy may be of the utmost service in unravelling the laws regulating other social institutions in a way similar to that I have just

illustrated in the case of marriage. Owing to the peculiar character of Gypsy culture, however, little can be learnt in this way from the Heron pedigree. With people who possess heritable property, the study of pedigrees enables us to ascertain the laws regulating inheritance in detail. We have only to make inventories of the property of given persons of a pedigree, and inquire how this property was, or would be, disposed of at death, to enable us to frame the laws of inheritance. Since, however, it was the custom of the true Gypsies to destroy the property of a person at his death, there is no opening for a study of this subject. It might, however, be worth while to inquire how property is transmitted in the now frequent cases in which Gypsies have given up their ancient practice of destruction at death.

A similar use of pedigrees is in the study of succession to rank or office, but here again Gypsy culture is of a kind which leaves no scope for this line of inquiry.

In another respect, however, the pedigree contains a feature of interest. Many peoples are organized in definite social groups with strict laws of descent; a person sometimes belonging to the group of his father, sometimes to that of his mother. The nearest approach to such a custom of descent among ourselves is the mode of transmission of the family name; and the earlier part of the Heron pedigree shows some evidence that patrilineal transmission of the family name was not as strict as it is in the country generally, or as it has been in the later generations of the Heron family. There is more than one case in the earlier generations in which a man took the name of his mother, either as his sole name or as an alternative to that of his father.

Another subject of great interest which is illustrated by the Heron pedigree is the nature and distribution of the names which, since they cannot in many cases be called Christian names, are best termed 'fore names.' The pedigree forms a collection of such names, which is of interest in that it bears evidence of a progressive loss of names characteristic of the Gypsies and of the adoption of others shared with the general population of the country. This change seems to have gone on *pari passu* with the changes revealed by the analysis of marriages. If we had no other evidence, the study of the 'fore names' of the pedigree would be sufficient to show the nature of the influence which is modifying or destroying the old social practices of the people.

In the case of peoples whose homes are more fixed than those

of the Gypsies, it is possible to obtain information concerning movements of the population from a study of pedigrees. If the home of each member of the pedigree is ascertained, it becomes possible to study such movements in detail. Even in the Heron pedigree as it stands, we have a record which gives us some indication of the extent to which Gypsies have emigrated; it might be of interest to use the pedigree as a means of discovering how far the movements of a Gypsy family have been limited to one part of Great Britain, and whether, in the cases where a man has married a woman from another district, the children have frequented their father's or their mother's district.

In addition to these and other direct uses of pedigrees in tracing out the social history of a people, there are many ways in which pedigrees bring out indirectly points of great interest. If I were asked to name one feature which beyond all others gives to pedigrees their importance in sociology, I should choose the fact that they take us back into the past. Just as a Melanesian pedigree of four or five generations may take us back to a time when the people had never even seen a white man, so does such a pedigree as that of the Heron family take us back to a time when the Gypsies practised more fully and purely than now the customs they brought to these islands from their ancient home. The occurrence of the name of some person when a pedigree is being collected may recall to memory events lying so much in the background of the informant's mind that, if such a stimulus had not been applied, they might never have been mentioned; pedigrees may thus be the means of discovering features of past history which would otherwise have completely escaped attention. The collection of pedigrees not only furnishes a mass of material for the study of the ancient customs and institutions of the people, but incidentally may bring to light many features of their past history.

VITAL STATISTICS

The lessons to be learnt from pedigrees which I have so far illustrated are of purely sociological interest. Those I have now to consider should interest both the sociologist and the biologist. By the analysis of such a pedigree as that of the Herons it is possible to investigate such subjects as the average number of a family, the proportion of sexes at birth and in adult life, and the sex of the first-born; it is also

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possible to study the relative fertility of different kinds of marriage. I propose to consider these topics, using the Heron pedigree in illustration, again premising that the results must be taken merely as a sample of a method which will only give satisfactory results when a large number of pedigrees have been collected and analysed. I have put together in Table III. the figures obtained from the pedigree concerning the average size of a family, the proportion of the sexes at birth, and the sex of the first-born child, in successive generations. In working out the average number of a family I have only taken those families of which the record is complete. I have omitted all those cases in which the names of one or more children are given, but it is stated that there were several others. If these had been included, the numbers throughout would probably have come out slightly larger.

In working out the proportion of the sexes I have had to omit a few children the character of whose names, such as Omega and Christmas, did not allow Mr. Hall to detect their sex. The figures give the total number of children of the marriages of each generation, so that the figures in one line of the table apply to children who themselves belong to the next generation. Similarly, the two columns giving the sex of the first-born child apply to the children of marriages in the generation to which they are assigned. In neither of these cases have I expressed the proportions in percentages, as I should have done if the numbers had been large enough to justify the use of the pedigree other than for the purpose of illustration.

TABLE III.

Generation.	Average number of children in a family.	Proportion of the sexes.		Sex of first-born.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
B	4.1	18	23	6	4
C	4.3	63	51	21	9
D	3.6	56	51	16	12
E	4.0	57	44	11	15
F	2.7	18	12	5	5
Total		212	181	59	45

SIZE OF FAMILY

It will be seen from the table that there has been little change in the size of the family in the first four generations. Only in the last is there an apparent falling off; there is no doubt that this is largely, if not entirely, due to the fact that most of the marriages of this generation are recent and the families not yet complete. It will be only when the pedigree has been brought up to date in the future that it will be possible to tell whether the Herons share with the rest of the country the prevailing diminution in the size of the family.

In all generations of the pedigree there are a number of marriages about which Mr. Hall has been unable to gain information, and since the result of a fertile marriage is more likely to be remembered than one which is childless, it is probable that the inclusion of these marriages would somewhat reduce the figures showing the size of the family. This factor is of importance if the fertility of the Gypsies is to be compared with that of the general population of the country, but it is improbable that it is one which would bring about any very material change in the figures showing the relative fertility of the different generations of the Heron family.

PROPORTION OF THE SEXES

Here the figures show a very decided preponderance of male births, the only exception being in the earliest generation; but the total numbers of this first generation are small, and we must await a more extended investigation before we can tell whether it is not merely a feature of the random sampling of which this pedigree is an example.

A closely allied problem, for the study of which there are not at present the available materials, is concerned with the proportion of persons of each sex who reach adult life. There is reason to believe that the preponderance of male births, which seems to be very general among mankind, is to some extent counteracted by a greater mortality of males in the early years of life. If we knew which members of the pedigree had reached adult age and which had died before this age, it would become possible to discover how far this holds good of Gypsies.

SEX OF FIRST-BORN

The last two columns of the table show a decided preponderance of male first-births in the Heron pedigree, the proportion being 59 to 45. The excess is present, however, only in the first three generations, being replaced by equality or an excess of females in the more recent generations. Here again the numbers are not large, and we must await a more extended inquiry to learn how far this change holds good of the Gypsies generally. It may be noted, however, that the excess of male first-births is generally present among other peoples.

FERTILITY OF CONSANGUINEOUS MARRIAGES

The consanguineous marriages which are recorded in the Heron pedigree furnish an opportunity for comparing the fertility of such marriages with that of the other marriages of the pedigree.

In the only example of a marriage between a brother and sister there were two children. In two cases in which a man married his brother's daughter there was only one child, but in the third case there were eight children. These cases are too few in number to allow much weight to be attached to them, but they fail to show any evidence of sterility as the result of such closely consanguineous marriages.

Ten cases of the marriage of first cousins are recorded in the pedigree, and the average size of the families of these marriages is exactly four, and this in spite of the fact that one of the marriages is recent. The size of the family thus shows a very close agreement with that of the general average of the whole pedigree.

It is possible to follow out some of the earlier marriages between first cousins to later generations. The three marriages between first cousins in generation C produced thirty-two grandchildren and more than eighty great-grandchildren. I do not attempt to compare this fecundity with that of the other marriages of the pedigree, but it is clear that there is no trace of a tendency for the marriage of first cousins to act as a cause of decrease in the population. Whether these cousin marriages have any effect on physical or mental capacity can only be discovered when the living members of the family have been examined from this point of view.

I must again point out that the object of this paper has not been to attempt the solution of any sociological or biological

problems among the Gypsies by means of the analysis of one of their pedigrees. Its object has rather been to point out the lines on which a collection of such pedigrees can be utilised by the sociologist and the biologist when they have been collected. My purpose has been to stimulate the students of Gypsy life to follow the example of Mr. Hall in collecting these records of social life and custom. It is a work in which all can take part. In the pedigree now published in this journal there are gaps which could be filled by any one who comes in contact with the missing persons, either in this country or in America. I should like to suggest that as many Gypsy pedigrees as possible should be collected, and published even in an incomplete state, in order that the gaps may become known, and may be filled by those to whom the opportunity of doing so presents itself.

I do not propose here to discuss how far the examination of the Heron pedigree helps to elucidate the vexed problem of the original home of the Gypsies. I have referred to the customs of India and Egypt merely as a means of illustrating the interest and importance of the kind of knowledge which may be acquired by the study of pedigrees. Any examination of the evidence from the ethnological point of view will only be profitable when we have a much larger collection of material, but I hope that enough has been said to show the possibilities of the study opened by the collection of Gypsy pedigrees. Before I close, however, I should like to refer to one fundamental problem of anthropology to the solution of which the study of this branch of Gypsy lore may contribute. Whenever we find differences, whether physical, material, social, moral or religious, between two peoples, there must always arise the question, Are these differences due to environment or race? The Gypsies are of especial interest from this point of view in that they are a people from another land who for very long have dwelt in the same environment as the general population of these islands, and through their endogamous practices seem to have remained till recently apart from the general body of the people. It is true that through their nomadic habits their environment has not been quite the same as that of the general population of the country, but they have been exposed to the same climate and to much the same conditions of food, clothing and many other features of the physical and social environment. If, therefore, there should be found any decided differences between them and the general population of the country in such matters,

for instance, as those I have studied in this paper, there would be at least a strong presupposition that they are the result of race rather than of environment, of nature rather than of nurture.

In conclusion, may I, as a student of human culture in general rather than one specially interested in the Gypsies, express my indebtedness to Mr. Hall for taking the lead in the collection of Gypsy pedigrees? Perhaps this example of the use of pedigrees in the study of a people living among us may have more influence than similar work in remote parts of the world in leading sociologists and anthropologists to recognise the importance of genealogy in their sciences. I should like also to take this opportunity of thanking Mr. Hall for the kindness with which he has given me the benefit of his profound knowledge of Gypsy custom on many points where, without his guidance, I should certainly have gone astray.

III.—DIE ZAHLWÖRTER DER ZIGEUNER VON VAN IN OSTARMENIEN

Von C. F. LEHMANN-HAUPT

✓
WÄHREND meiner Forschungsreise durch Armenien in den Jahren 1898-99, habe ich, wo sich mir Gelegenheit bot, meine Aufmerksamkeit auch den Zigeunern und ihrer Sprache zugewandt, da ich wusste, dass weiteres Material von den Forschern auf diesem Gebiete dringend gewünscht würde. Zweimal bin ich so mit Zigeunern in Berührung gekommen, in *Van* und bei *Erzerum*.

Als mir später bekannt wurde, dass mein damaliger, jetzt leider früh geschiedener Berliner Kollege Fink, Studien über die Sprache der armenischen Zigeuner zu veröffentlichen gedachte, stellte ich ihm das bei beiden Gelegenheiten gesammelte Material zur Verfügung. Er hat jedoch nur das was ich bei Erzerum von sogenannten ‚Bosha‘ aufgenommen hatte—eine Liste von 83 Wörtern, bezw. Redensarten und Sätzen—in seine Abhandlung über die Sprache der armenischen Zigeuner¹ (S. 4, sub xv, S. 30 f. sub 18) veröffentlicht und verwertet, dagegen mein in *Van*

¹ *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, vol. viii., No. 5 (1907).

gesammeltes reichlicheres Material unbenutzt gelassen: warum, ist mir niemals ganz klar geworden, doch vermute ich, dass die Befürchtung stärkeren kurdischen Einflusses in den von Kurden bewohnten Teilen Armeniens dabei mitspielte.

Mein jetziger Kollege und Freund Dr. Sampson hat nun, nachdem er von meinen Aufzeichnungen Kenntnis genommen, darauf gedrungen, dass ich mein Material, das er für sehr wertvoll erklärt, der Forschung zugänglich mache. Und seinem Wunsche gemäss veröffentliche ich zunächst die von mir aufgenommene Liste der Zahlwörter.

Sie finden sich im Folgenden in der ersten Kolumne. In den nächsten Kolumnen stehen, zum Vergleiche, die Listen der Zahlwörter, wie sie F. H. Groome¹ in dieser Zeitschrift nach der Liste von Miss Everest, die vom Standpunkt der englischen Aussprache zu verstehen ist, veröffentlicht hat, dazu in Klammern beigesetzt die syrisch-zigeunerischen Zahlwörter von 1-22 nach Pott² (Kolumne II) und die der Nuri oder wandernden Schmiede von Palestina nach R. A. Stewart Macalister³ (Kol. III.). Sie alle hat mir Dr. Sampson zugänglich gemacht. Die Zahlwörter stehen an der Spitze der Aufzeichnungen, die ich bei meinem ersten Besuch bei den Zigeunern in Van machte.⁴ Nachmals bin ich noch mehrmals mit ihnen in Berührung gekommen. Es sind 80 Familien, die ihre Häuser jedoch nur im Winter bewohnen, im Sommer gehen sie in die Berge. Sie haben keine Erinnerung, von anderswoher gekommen zu sein. Sie kennen 32 türkische Padischahs, unter denen sie hier gewohnt hätten, bei Namen, und ihr Muchtar Schäkir Reschidin Oghly sagt, sie seien seit Muhammed, also seit unvor-denklichen Zeiten, dort. Sie nennen sich selbst Midreb. Unser tatarischer Diener Färädj kennt gleichfalls diese Bezeichnung und spricht „Mitrib.“

Sie kennen die Boschas, betrachten sich aber als von ihnen verschieden, die Boschas seien „Köçer,” Nomaden, die in den Dörfern arbeiten und den Winter über bleiben, wo sie gerade

¹ 'Persian and Syrian Gypsies,' *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 21.

² 'Über die Sprache der Zigeuner in Syrien,' *Hoefer's Zeitschr. f. d. Wissenschaft der Sprache*, i. (1846) 175 ff.

³ 'A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language of the Nawar or Zutt, the Nomad Smiths of Palestine,' *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, vol. iii. [To these a few variant forms from Prof. Macalister's vocabulary (*J. G. L. S.*, vi. 161-240) have been added.—Ed.]

⁴ Vgl. Black's Artikel im vorigen Hefte dieser Zeitschrift, p. 327 ff. Auch meine Aufzeichnungen haben, wie ich bei dieser Gelegenheit erfuhr, Dr. Black in Auszügen vorgelegen, die Mr. Sinclair aus meinen ihm übersandten ausführlichen Mitteilungen gemacht hatte.

sind. Die Zigeuner von Van dagegen haben Winterhäuser, sind also sesshaft, und besitzen Vieh und Pferde und Felder. Im Sommer bleibt die Hälfte in den Winterhäusern, die andere Hälfte geht in ihr Sommerdorf Mala-nigisî nahe bei Poganzen und dicht bei Kasym Oghly, das NNW von Van am Marmid-tschai belegen ist. Einige zeigen Bären und Affen herum und lassen Knaben in weiblicher Tracht tanzen' (worüber ein anderes Mal noch mehr zu sagen). 'Sie arbeiten Bürsten und Siebe etc.' So meine Notizen.

Armenische Zigeuner von Van.	Syrische Zigeuner.	Nuri.
1. <i>jäku</i>	<i>ëka (ika)</i>	<i>yikă, yikák</i>
2. <i>dü'</i>	<i>doothee (dedi)</i>	<i>dî, dîs, diés, diésni, dîi, dîü</i>
3. <i>trîn</i>	<i>trôn (turîn)</i>	<i>târăn, târănés, târăne, târănă, târănés</i>
4. <i>ışdôr, ışdîr</i>	<i>ishttâr (shtâr)</i>	<i>ștar, ștarés</i>
5. <i>benë</i>	<i>pünch or pünj (penj)</i>	<i>pünj, pünjäs, pünji, pünjăne, pünjés</i>
6. <i>šeš</i>	<i>shaysh (sheish)</i>	<i>șas, șăsăs, târăn-wă- târăn, șas, târăn u târăn</i>
7. <i>haft</i>	<i>hautt (haut)</i>	<i>hōt, hōts ștar-wă- târăn</i>
8. <i>hăšt</i>	<i>heishtt (haisht)</i>	<i>ștar-wă-ștar, ștar u ștar</i>
9. <i>nu</i>	<i>nah (na)</i>	<i>ștar-wă-ștar-wă- yikák, ștar-wă- pünj, ștar u ștar u yikák</i>
10. <i>dě (dă)</i>	<i>dās or dhās (des)</i>	<i>das, des, dēs, dăsés</i>
11. <i>dehuyjek</i>	<i>dăsiak or dhăsyak (des yek)</i>	<i>das-wă-yikák</i>
12. <i>dehewdîj</i>	<i>dhăsdea (dâz di)</i>	
13. <i>defterîn (= dew- terîn)</i>	<i>dhăstron (dâz tûr- în)</i>	
14. <i>dēwișdôr</i>	<i>dhăshthâr (deshtâr)</i>	
15. <i>dă'bănë</i>	<i>dhăspünj (despenj)</i>	
16. <i>devșăs</i>	<i>dhashaysh (desh- sheish)</i>	
17. <i>dōhūjt</i>	<i>dhashautt (des haut)</i>	

Armenische Zigeuner von Van.	Syrische Zigeuner.	Nuri.
18. <i>dewhašt</i> ¹ (kein ä)	<i>dhas-heishtt</i> (des <i>haisht</i>)	<i>das-wä-štar-wä-štar</i>
19. <i>dewnā</i> ¹	<i>dhas-oo-nah</i> (<i>dāz nū</i>)	<i>wīs-ilā-yikāk</i>
20. <i>vīst</i>	<i>weest</i> (<i>bīst</i> [<i>hīst</i> ?])	<i>wīs, wīstāne</i>
21. <i>vīstjék</i>	<i>weesiák</i> or <i>wistteeka</i> (<i>bīs yek</i>)	<i>wīs-u-yikāk</i>
22. <i>vīstērdā</i>	<i>weesdidee</i> (<i>bīs dedī</i>)	
23. <i>vīsterterīn</i>	<i>weestron</i>	
24. <i>vīstīšdōr</i>	<i>weesttar</i>	
25. <i>vīstpeñč</i> ²	<i>weespūnj</i>	
26. <i>vīstēšāš</i>	<i>weeshash</i>	
27. <i>vīstehaft</i>	<i>wees-hautt</i>	
28. —	<i>wees-hajtt</i> or <i>heishtt</i>	
29. <i>vīstēnū</i>	<i>weest-oo-nāh</i>	<i>wīs-u-štar-u-štar- wä-yikāk</i>
30. <i>ssī</i> ³	<i>see</i>	<i>tādrān das, wāt</i> (?)
31. <i>sīvījāk</i>	<i>see-eeka</i> or <i>see-wa- eeka</i>	
32. <i>sivjēdā, sivydnā</i>	<i>see-didee</i>	
33. <i>sivjēterīn</i>	<i>see-tron</i>	
34. <i>sivīšdōr</i>	<i>seeshttar</i>	
35. <i>sivypañč</i>	<i>see-pūnj</i>	
36. <i>sivyses</i> ⁴	<i>see-shaysh</i> or <i>see-wa- shaysh</i>	
37. —	<i>see-hautt</i> or <i>see-wa- hautt</i>	
38. —	<i>see-wa-heishtt</i>	
39. <i>sivēnu</i>	<i>see-oo-nāh</i>	
40. <i>čyl</i>	<i>chill</i>	<i>štar das, dī wīs</i>
41. <i>čyljāk</i>	<i>chilleeyak</i> or <i>chilli- ayk</i>	
42. <i>čyledā</i>	<i>chill-didee</i>	
43. <i>čyljēterīn</i>	<i>chill-tron</i>	
44. <i>čylišdōr, čyljšdōr</i>	<i>chill-ishttar</i>	
45. —	<i>chill-oo-punj</i>	

¹ Das *w* (*y*) nach *v*, hin gesprochen, also kaum mehr Halbvokal.² Das *n* schon durch den Einfluss des folgenden Palatals mouilliert, daher *ñ*.³ Das *s* im Worte 30 sehr scharf, daher beim ersten Vorkommen als *ss* notiert.⁴ So habe ich notiert, ohne, wie sonst, auf eine Unregelmässigkeit durch Unterstreichen oder in anderer Weise hinzuweisen. Daher kann *ses* für *šes* sehr wol Schreibfehler sein.

Armenische Zigeuner von Van.	Syrische Zigeuner.	Nuri.
46. —	<i>chill-oo-shaysh</i>	
47. —	<i>chill-oo-hautt</i>	
48. —	<i>chill-oo-heishtt</i>	
49. —	<i>chill-oo-nah</i>	<i>nīm sāl, nīm-sāl</i>
50. <i>pānǰā</i>	<i>paynjāh or painja</i>	
51. <i>pānǰajāk</i>	<i>painja-weeka</i>	
52. <i>pānǰadāṛ</i>	<i>painja-oo-didee</i>	
53. <i>pānǰäterin</i>	<i>painja-oo-tron</i>	
54. <i>pānǰahišdōr</i>	<i>painja-oo-ishttar</i>	
55. —	<i>painja-oo-pūnj</i>	
56. —	<i>painja-oo-shaysh</i>	
57. —	<i>painja-oo-hautt</i>	
58. —	<i>painja-oo-heishtt</i>	
59. —	<i>painja-oo-nāh</i>	<i>šaš das, tārān wīs, dī</i>
60. <i>altmyš</i> (türkisch !)	<i>tron-weest</i>	<i>wāṭ (?)</i>
61. <i>altmyšjāku</i>	<i>tron-weest-wa-eeka</i>	
62. <i>altmyšdūj</i>	<i>tron-weest-wa-didee</i>	
63. —	<i>tron-weest-wa-tron</i>	
64. —	<i>tron-weest-washttār</i>	
65. —	<i>tron-weest-wa-punj</i>	
66. —	<i>tron-weest-wa-shaysh</i>	
67. —	<i>tron-weest-wa-hhautt</i>	
68. —	<i>tron-weest-wa-</i> <i>hhaysht or -hhasht</i>	
69. —	<i>tron-weest-wa-nāh</i>	<i>hōṭ das</i>
70. <i>jetmyš</i> (türk.)	<i>tron-weest-wa-dhas</i> <i>or dhūs</i>	
71. —	<i>tron-weest-wa-dhūs-</i> <i>weeka</i>	
72. —	<i>tron-weest-wa-dhūs-</i> <i>wa-didee</i>	
73. —	<i>tron-weest-wa-dhūs-</i> <i>wa-tron</i>	
80. <i>sāksan</i> (türk.)	<i>ishttūrweesht</i>	<i>štar-wā-štār das,</i> <i>štar wīs</i>
81. —	<i>ishttūrweesh-weeka</i>	
82. —	<i>ishttūrweesh-wa-</i> <i>didee</i>	

Armenische Zigeuner von Van.	Syrische Zigeuner.	Nuri.
83. —	<i>ishttür-weesh-wa- tron</i>	
90. <i>doksan</i> (türk.)	<i>ishtarweeshitt-wa- dhūs</i>	<i>sāi-ilā-dās</i>
91. —	<i>ishtarweeshitt-wa- dhūs-weeka</i>	<i>sāi-ilā-štar-u-štar- u-yikāk</i>
92. —	<i>ishtarweeshitt-wa- dhūs-didee</i>	<i>sāi-ilā-štar-u-štar</i>
95. —		<i>sāi-ilā-pūnj</i>
99. —		<i>sāi-ilā-yikāk</i>
100. <i>ssāj</i>	<i>ssūdd</i>	<i>sāi</i>
101. <i>ssājāk</i>	<i>ssūdd-weeka</i>	
102. <i>ssāj dū'</i>	—	
110. —	<i>ssūdd-wa-dhūs or -dhūs or -dās</i>	
111. —	<i>ssūdd-wa-dhūs-yayk</i>	
112. —	<i>ssūdd-wa-dhūs-dee</i>	
113. —	<i>ssūdd-wa-dhūs-tron</i>	
114. —	<i>ssūdd-wa-dashtār</i>	
115. —	<i>sudd-wa-dhūs-punj</i>	
116. —	<i>sudd-wa-dhūs-shaysh</i>	
117. —	<i>sudd-wa-dhūs-hautt</i>	
118. —	<i>sudd-wa-dhūs- hayshtt</i>	
119. —	<i>sudd-wa-dhūs-noo</i>	
120. —	<i>sud-wa-weest</i>	
200. —	<i>dee ssudd</i>	<i>dī sāi</i>
300. —	<i>tron ssudd</i>	
360. <i>terīn ssāj altmjś</i>	—	
400. —	<i>ishtar sudd</i>	
500. —	<i>punj ssudd</i>	
600. —	<i>shaysh ssudd</i>	

Armenische Zigeuner von Van.	Syrische Zigeuner.	Nuri.
700. —	<i>hautt ssudd</i>	
800. —	<i>hayshtt ssudd</i>	
900. —	<i>nah sudd</i>	<i>štar-u-štar-u-yikāk</i> <i>sār</i>
1000. <i>hazar</i>	<i>dhass-sudd</i>	<i>das sār, tilli-sār</i>
2000. —	<i>weest-ssudd</i>	
3000. —	<i>see-ssudd</i>	
4000. —	<i>chill-ssudd</i>	
5000. —	<i>paynja-ssudd</i>	
6000. —	<i>tron-weest-ssudd</i>	
7000. —	<i>tron-weest-wa-dass</i> <i>ssudd</i>	
8000. —	<i>ishtar-weeshtt-ssudd</i>	
9000. —	<i>ishtar-weeshtt-wa-</i> <i>duss ssudd</i>	
10,000. —	<i>ssudd-ssudd</i>	

Die Verwertung der Liste muss ich natürlich den Fachleuten überlassen. Ich kann nichts weiter tun, als mitteilen, was ich möglichst aufmerksam gehört und möglichst genau aufgezeichnet habe. So entzieht es sich beispielweise meiner Beurteilung, inwieweit kurdischer Einfluss vorhanden ist.

In meinen Notizen findet sich zwischen *jäku* und *dü:* 'stark kurdisch' beigeschrieben. Das hat aber wol nur die Bedeutung, dass mich die beiden Zahlwörter an die kurdischen Bezeichnungen erinnerten, was ja ebenso gut auf ursprünglicher Verwandtschaft wie auf Beeinflussung beruhen kann. Die beiden ersten Zahlwörter sind ja im Neupersischen *yak* und *du* (*do*).

Dass türkischer Einfluss erkennbar ist, ist nur natürlich. Aber sehr bemerkenswert ist, dass die türkischen Entlehnungen gerade bei der 60 beginnen, sodass also das alte, auch bei den Indogermanen in der Bildung europäischen Zahlwörter so stark wirksame, auf das altbabylonische Sexagesimalsystem zurückgehende Gefühl, dass die 60 einen wichtigen Einschnitt bilde,¹ selbst bei den Zigeunern in der asiatischen Türkei nachlebt.

¹ Vergl. Johannes Schmidt: 'Die Urheimat der Indogermanen und das europäische Zahlensystem,' *Abhandl. Berl. Ak. d. Wiss.*, 1890.

Bei den europäischen Zahlwörtern findet aber die Veränderung nach der 60 statt: bei *τριάκοντα, τεσσαράκοντα, πεντήκοντα, ἑξήκοντα*: *triginta, quadraginta, quinquaginta*, sind die Vielfachen von Zehn Cardinalzahlen, dagegen bei *ἑβδομήκοντα, ὀγδοήκοντα, ἐνενήκοντα* (*septuaginta, nonaginta*) steht die Ordinalzahl: 'die siebente Zehn, die achte Zehn, die neunte Zehn.' Bei den Zigeunern von Van dagegen beginnt die Entlehnung gerade mit der 60 und geht bis zur 90 weiter.

IV.—A TENTH BULGARIAN GYPSY FOLK-TALE

Recorded by BERNARD GILLIAT-SMITH

Introduction

This tale, like so many others, is taken from the Turkish, as is shown by the quotations. This fact is also noticeable from the very turn of the phrases: for instance, *mam'î me'âte*, in paragraph 8, was explained (and I recorded it on the margin of the original MS.) by *mam'î mamujés* 'face to face,' a literal translation of the Turkish *قارشو قارشویه* (*karşu karşuya*).

E SAPÉSKERI ANGRUSTÍ

1. *Isiné jek éhavó thai i dai. Jek diés, dui diés, bárilo o éhavó, liljás thai axáljovel. Pe dajá kaphuél: "Néne-é, mo dad kai muló, hié léskere zaneatjéstár na ašló-li éipota?" I dai phenél: "Úkjel, Sinko, ko távanos. Ist jek phagjí púška, ta to dad siné lovdžís. Sa lása džálas lovdžilekjéste."*

2. *Lel o éhavó i púška, kadžál lovdžilekjéste. Geló. Arakhjél jekhé mačká, čalavél, anél pe dajáke. I dai dikhljás: "Abé Sínko, so kakerés adalké mačkása?" Dolél i dai, phándel la.*

3. *Geló ándi tasjarín pále lovdžilekjéste. Hékje okotár dikhél jekhé rikonés. Igalghjás pe dajáke. Dikhljás i dai: "Abé*

THE SNAKE'S RING

1. There was a boy and his mother. One day, two days, the boy grew and began to understand. He will ask his mother: 'Mother, does naught remain from my father's profession now that he is dead?' The mother says: 'Mount, Sinko, into the loft. There is a broken gun, and your father was a sportsman. He invariably went out shooting with it.'

2. The boy takes the gun, he will go a-shooting. He went. He finds a cat, shoots it, brings it to his mother. The mother saw: 'Sinko, what will you do with this cat?' The mother seizes it, ties it up.

3. He went on the morrow again a-shooting. Behold yonder he sees a dog. He brought it to his mother. The mother said: 'Sinko, what will you do with

Sinko, so kakerés adalké rikonésa? "Le les tu, tha phánde les, Néne, ta arakhjél amén, vardínel amén."

4. *Liljás-pes ándi tasjarín, pále geló lovdžilekjéste. Hékje okotár dikhél jekhé sapés, dolél les, háide háide pe daiáte. I dai dikhlyas: "Olelé, Sinko, kaçád amén." Ov pe dajáke: "Má-dara, Néne, thov les andé jekhé kjupjéste."*

5. *Avdiés, tasjá, jek diés, dui diés, jek kurkó. O sap šúvlilo, bárilo, kaphárjol o kjúpi véče. Naští te kídel les. Ikalghjás o rakló i púška, tamám te mudarél les, e sapés. O sap aló léske dilé (Romanés *čhibáte*). "Ačh, ma mudár man, tu mándar but kablagodarínes, thai kadikhés lačipé. Le man, igál man, okotká ist jek xe, ist-de la jek vudár. Tu odolké vudaréste som gelján, kai ikljón túke sapá, sékakva, ta te des maškár lénde mántsa. Hič te na darás katár o sapá. Kikljol túke jek náí-phuró sap, kaphučél tut: 'Dile benden ne dilersen.' (Romanés 'Šun mánde, mang mándar so kamangés'). Tu kavakjerés: 'Saliní isterem.' (Romanés 'Me mangáv to sastipé'). Ov kavakjerél: 'Salimdan ne faida oladžak sana?' (Romanés 'Me sastipnástar savó baç kadikhés?')."*

6. *Pále o sap: "Dile benden ne dilersen." Pále o čhavó: "Saliní isterem." Pále ko trito drom: "Dile benden ne dilersen." Thai o čho: "Dilerem senden dilin altínda jüzüntü." (Romanés "Mangáv tútar telál te čhibáte i angrustí"). O phuró sap phenél:*

this dog?' 'Take it you, and tie it up, mother, that it may keep watch and guard us.'

4. Again on the morrow he betook himself and went out shooting. Behold yonder he sees a snake, he seizes it, away away to his mother. The mother saw: 'Oleley, Sinko, it will eat us.' He to his mother: 'Fear not, mother, put it into a jar.'

5. To-day, to-morrow, one day, two days, one week. The snake swelled, grew big, the jar will burst. Already it cannot contain him. The boy had just taken out the gun to shoot him, the snake. The snake moved towards him showing his tongue. 'Wait, do not slay me, you will be very grateful to me, and you will see luck. Take me, lead me, yonder is a hole and it has an opening. The moment you have gone to that opening, every kind of snake will appear before you, and you will enter among them with me. Do not fear anything from the snakes. One snake, the oldest of all, will appear before you and will ask you: "Wish from me what you wish?" (which is tantamount to "Hear me, beg of me whatever you want"). And you will answer: "I desire your health." He will say: "What advantage will you gain from my health?" (or, as the Romani puts it, "What luck will you see from my health?").'

6. Again the snake: 'Wish from me what you wish.' Again the boy: 'Your health I desire.' Again for the third time: 'Wish from me what you wish.' And the boy: 'I want the ring from you under your tongue.' The old snake says: 'Seni ögreten, bokunu-da jesin, bokumu-da jesin,' which

"Seni ögreten, bokunu-da jesin, bokumu-da jesin." (Romanés "Tut ko sikaghjás, to kxul-da te xal mo kxul-da te xal.")

7. *Liljás o sap, dinjás i angrusti.* *Liljás o čho, geló-peske paš pe dajá.* *Amá isí-da len jek phagji baráka, kai thovén kaštá andré.* *Jek diés, dui diés:* "Néne, tu kadžás ko thagarésko paláti, te vakjerés e thagaréske kai me e rakljá mangáv." *I dai:* "Abé Sínko, sar te džav te vakjeráv? Hič ov dela-li pe čhajá aménde, akalké phagierdé barakáte!" "Ja te džas, ja kamudaráv tut."

8. *Lel-pes i dai, háide háide ko thagár.* *Dikhél o thagár kai žarél ko vudár.* "Džan-ta, igalén okolké phuré romnjáke jek kotór mařó." *Den-la jek kotór mařó, háide háide džán-peske.* *O čhavó:* "Ače, Néne, so vakjerdé?" "Abé Sínko, geljóm othé, diné man jek kotór mařó, aljóm-maņge." "Tasjá pále te džas, zerre kačhináv tut." *Lel-pes ándi tasjarín, háide háide ko thagár.* *Pále dikhél la o thagár, pále bičhalél láke jek kotór mařó.* *Pále gelí-peske.* "Ače Néne, sar?" "E, sar! Geljóm othé, dikhljás man o thagár dinjás man jek kotór mařó, thai aljóm-maņge." *Ko trito drom:* "Tu te džas akaná, zerre áke akaná kamudaráv tut." "Ač, Sínkole, ma mudár man, áke kadžáv." *Liljás-pes háide háide ko thagár.* "Thagára, the thagaripnása, mo čhavó te čhajá mangjél." "Te si kisméti," o thagár phenél, "ov-t' ovél. E, lačhés, te dav me čhajá, te kérta jek zdánja mamúti meřáte. Togáti dáva la léske."

means, 'He who showed you let him eat your excrement, and let him eat my excrement.'

7. The snake bestirred himself and gave the ring. The boy arose and went to his mother. Now they lived in a broken hut, such as wood is stowed away in. One day, two days: 'Mother, you will go to the King's palace, and tell the King that I want his daughter.' The mother: 'But, Sinko, how shall I go and say that to him? Is it likely he will give us his daughter, in this broken hut?' 'Either you go or I will kill you.'

8. The mother betook herself away away to the King. The King sees that she is waiting at the door. 'Go ye now, carry a piece of bread to that poor old woman.' They give her a piece of bread, and away away they go. The boy: 'Now mother, what did they say?' 'Sinko, I went there, they gave me a piece of bread, and I returned.' 'To-morrow you will go again, or I will kill you.' She betook herself on the morrow, away away to the King. Again the King sees her, again he sends her a piece of bread. Again she went away. 'How now, mother?' 'How indeed! I went there, the King saw me, gave me a piece of bread, and I have come back.' For the third time: 'You will go now, or I will kill you this time.' 'Wait, Sinko, do not kill me, see I will go.' She betook herself away away to the King. 'King, by your Dynasty, my son desires your daughter.' 'If it is Kismet,' the King says, 'let it so be. Good, if I give my daughter let him build a palace opposite to mine. Then I will give her to him.'

9. *Liljás-pes i dai, gelt-peske. "Sar, Néne," o čho phenél, "vakjergjhán?" "Vakjergjhóm, Sínko. Mangjél tútar jek zdánja, sášto léskeri savi si, asiká baš-mamúi léskera te kerés."* O čhavó čarél i angrustí, nietledínel, čalavél ándi phuv: "Sar e thagaréskeri zdánja mangáv te kerés thai mamúi léskera th' aavél, thai te kerés mándar dži léste sade mermerjéstar jek drom."

10. *So t' uxtjél te dikhél ándi javín o thagár? Jek zdánja, sášto sar léskera mamúi léskere, thai jek drom odolké zdanjatar dži léskera, sade mermerjéstar.*

11. *Pále o čhavó: "Te džas, mámu, te mangés akaná e čhajá, te phenés: 'Thagára, the thagaribnása, so manglján o bási kerghjás mo čho. Me mangáv me borjá.'"*

12. *"E, lačhés, pánda jek bási si amén, te kérta me askerjésu t' urjavél sarorén, kadáv e čhajá." Gelí i dai, vakjerél e čhavéske: "Mangjél, Sínko, léskere askerjés so si te ašti urjavsa dži jekhés kadél la aménge." Lel i angrustí, čarél, nietledínel, čalavél ándi phuv: "Sa mangáv soldáčka šéxja so si e thagaréskere askerjés t' urjaváv." Čalavél i angrustí ándi phuv. So te dikhél o thagár? Geló o čhavó, urjaghjás sa e askerjés, thai artisájla-da o šéxja. Liljás-pes, geló: "Te džas, Néne, te vakjerés: 'Thagára, the thagaribnása, me borjá mangáv.'"*

13. *Ikalel o thagár, del pe čhajá. Jek diés, dui diés, tsidinjás khamlí. Bianghjás muršé čhavés. Gukjínél. Lel-pes o thagár, avél. So te dikhél? Murš čhavó ándi ánggali pe čhajáke, gukjínél.*

9. The mother arose and went. 'How mother,' the boy says, 'did you tell him?' 'I told him, Sinko. He wants from you a palace exactly like his, such as it is, thus you must make one just opposite.' The boy licks the ring, wishes, strikes the ground: 'I wish you to make a palace like the King's, and that it be opposite to his, and a road from me to him all of marble.'

10. When the King arises in the morning, what does he see? A palace opposite his own and just like it, and a road from that palace to his, all of marble.

11. Again the boy: 'Go, mother, ask for the girl now, and say, "O King, by your Dynasty, my son has fulfilled the condition you asked of him. I desire my bride."'

12. (The King): 'Good! There is yet one condition, if he can clothe all my soldiers, I will give the girl.' The mother went, and says to the boy: 'He says, Sinko, that should you be able to clothe all his soldiers to a man, he will give her to us.' He takes the ring, licks it, wishes, strikes the ground: 'I wish to clothe the whole of the King's army in soldier's kit.' He strikes the ground with the ring. What does the King see? The boy went, clothed the whole army, and there remained stuff over and above. He betook himself and went: 'Go, mother, and say: "O King, by your Dynasty, I want my bride."'

13. The King leads out his daughter and gives her. One day, two days, she became pregnant. She gave birth to a male child. It yells. The King betakes himself, and comes. What does he see? A male child yelling in the arms of his

*Saránda diés, saránda ratjá davúlja marjarghjá, biav kerghjá.
Xan, pién, rikonés kokalós na den !*

ORADÁ MASÁL, BURADÁ SALÍK.

daughter. Forty days and forty nights he caused the drum to be beaten, and celebrated the wedding. They eat, they drink, and give no bone to the dog !

O. M. B. S.

NOTES TO THE TEXT

§ 1. *Úkjel, Stuko, ko távanos* . . . *Úkjel* is Imperative for *uklt*. The 3rd pers. sing. pres. is *ukljél*, sometimes *ukjél*, and thus distinguishable from the above form of Imperative only by the accent. Cf. *ikel* (note to paragraph 15 of the Story of Batim, *J. G. L. S.*, v. 288), where kindred forms are discussed. In the dialect spoken by Kara Hati at Varna, dialect of the Kalburdzis or Sieve Makers, called by others the Vlachs although they are Moslems, the word *ukljáv* has disappeared, and is replaced by *inkljáv*. This, in the Vlach dialect of Sofia, is pronounced *ikljáv*. But it means 'to go up,' and is not the same as the *ikljováv* in the Story of Batim (Paši Suljoff's *Erlí* Dialect).

I have a bit of a *paramtsi* taken down from these Sofia Vlach Gypsies, which begins much in the same way as the tale we are considering: e.g., *Iklí ko távanos. Si práni puška, si čurl. Ov-da iklístilo ko távanos*, etc. From these slight shades of difference in dialect (which to a Gypsy scholar must seem insignificant, but which are felt to be so irksome when members of different tribes meet together, that they prefer to converse in Turkish, when Moslems), the student of Eastern Romani will learn patience. There seems no end to the divisions. Fresh dialects crop up in the same town, nay, in the same *mahala*, as soon as one hopes one has at last exhausted them.

§ 5. *O sap aló léske díle* (Romanés *chibáte*) . . . i.e., showing his wire-like tongue, as snakes do. I do not grasp the meaning of the dat. in *-te*. The Turkish *dile* is for *dil-ilé* 'with the tongue.'

§ 6. *Pále o sap* . . . As in all these tales, a portion not considered necessary for the understanding of the narrative is here left out. It is presumed that the listener will understand that the boy followed out the instructions of the snake, and the narrative continues where the most ancient snake and the boy are already confronting one another.

§ 8. *E, lachés, te dav me chajá, te kérta jek zdánja mamú meřdte* . . . In the original MS. the word *lačó* is written here with the aspirate. Elsewhere I never heard it so pronounced in Sofia. In the Varna dialects, both Christian and Moslem, it is always pronounced *lačhó*, except where the *č* has turned into *š*. I have not yet heard *šh*. As the origin of *lačhó* is doubtful, the correctness of the aspirate cannot be proved. However, Bornemisza records it several times. *Meřdte*: nom. *meřó*, *miřó*, Paspati's *minró*, *mindó*.

§ 8. *Togái dáva la léske* . . . The form *dava* for *dav*, exceedingly rare in this dialect, seems to denote the future here, as in some other dialects. It is sometimes used here in the very construction where it would be avoided elsewhere: e.g., *te dvla* 'if he should come,' *te ašti urjávsa* 'if you can clothe them.'

§ 12. *te ašti urjávsa dží jekhés* . . . i.e. 'if you can clothe every single one of them.' *Urjávsa*=*urjavésa*. Note the oblique of *jek*, aspirated, and governed by the preposition *dží*.

§ 12. *urjaghjá sa e askerjés, thai artisájla-da o šexja* . . . In Sofia they say: *urjaváv les, man*, etc. 'I clothe him, myself,' etc., but *urjav o šexja* 'I put on the clothes.' *Artisájla* for *artisájle*; glossed by: *urjaibé pándá ist, térdjol* 'there is still clothing, some remains over.'

§ 13. *Biařghjá muršé chavés* . . . Note again the high development of grammatical forms in this dialect. *Murš* is here treated as an adjective and put into the oblique case.

V.—THE DIALECT OF THE NOMAD GYPSY COPPERSMITHS

WITH TEXTS AND VOCABULARY

By FREDERICK GEORGE ACKERLEY

(*Continued from Vol. VI. p. 326*)

SECOND PART—GRAMMAR

✓
THE Gypsies with whose speech we have to deal are skilled workers in copper, and for the last sixty years at least have been wandering over Europe. They speak a variety of Romani that has forms of the definite article that are distinctive of the Rumanian dialect, and a vocabulary containing a large proportion of Rumanian loan-words. Yet to denominate them Rumanian Gypsies would seem to suggest that they had only recently left Rumania. This is not the case, neither is their speech identical with the Romani of Constantinescu's Gypsies.¹ It is, in fact, difficult to avoid a question-begging term in speaking of them. Negative assertions can be more easily made about them than positive. From the point of view of their language, which is all we are concerned with here, it seems possible to divide them into two groups which display slight differences of speech: that is to say, the group which acknowledges Nikóla Tśóron as its chief; and the group, rather more loosely organized, of which Míloš (Míχail) Tśóron is the most prominent figure. With the latter I would include the Kósmin family.

Both these groups use the forms of the definite article, *le*, *la*, *ol*, *əl*; both use the obscure vowel *ɛ*. The second group have perhaps carried further than the others the habit of eliding the letter *s*, so that one gets *dadjeka*, or *dadjake*, in place of *dadjeske*. They also use more Russian loan-words than the former group; and there are some striking differences in vocabulary. Andréas (Fárdi) recognized *dulap* 'cupboard,' but this word was not understood by the four sons of Míloš Tśóron. In place of it they used *škafo*, evidently derived from the Russian *skap*. In the following instances I give the word used by Group I. first, followed by that used by Group II. :—

¹ *Probe de Limba și Literatura Țigănilor din România*, Bucuresci, 1878.

GROUP I.

apoj, then
bori, bride, daughter-in-law
drabar-, to tell fortunes
karfin, button

lume, world
prašaŭ, ribs
šaj, it is possible

GROUP II.

pormo
bori, niece¹
drukar-, (possibly also *drabar*-)
kotšak. Use *karfin* only for
 'nail,' 'rivet'

lumia
praškia
ašti

Compare also *vojaga* 'bottle' of Group I. with *buiaga* 'window-glass' of Group II. In printing the texts the name of the reciter has been stated whenever possible.

All these Gypsies speak Russian fluently. Vórža Grantšáski, wife of Jóno, who told my fortune in Russian, spoke so rapidly that I could not follow her. She seemed unable to exercise her fortune-telling art in Romani. According to Mr. Pohl's account they use Polish almost as a second mother-tongue, but as the Gypsies with whom he conversed were members of Group II., his evidence is not conclusive as far as concerns the first group. All of them speak broken French and German. After a conversation with Vánia Kósmin, I noted that he could speak some Spanish, Italian, Servian, and Hungarian. It is strange that they have picked up very little English during their stay in this country.

Only eight Hungarian loan-words appear in the vocabulary—*biro*, *birzvo*, *χiba*, *jíšto*, *kolumpilje*, *kombo*, *štala*, and *vojaga*; and, so far as I know, there is no word from Ruthenian (Little Russian). This is important, for it has been suggested that these Gypsies are Galitsian. If that were the case we should surely find many loan-words from the language of a large number of the Galitsian peasants. A few words are probably derived directly from Russian: *arješka-arjol*, *dengi*, *glavno*, *otški*, *paraχodo*, *pogrebo*, *škafo*, *varenia*.

Of the Rumanian loan-words a large number are ultimately of Slavonic origin, and some of these may very well have been picked up in Slavonic lands; but where the word occurs in Rumanian it has been thought best to give that etymology without further comment. An explanation is necessary in this connexion. Rumanian is a language that has still no fixed orthography, three

¹ It is, however, highly probable that *bori* means nothing more definite than 'young woman,' and that the difference in usage is only apparent but not real.

separate systems of spelling being in vogue in the country. Miklosich spells Rumanian words according to a method of his own. As I have picked up Rumanian comparisons from several sources, including two Russian-Rumanian phrase-books which spell the Rumanian phonetically in Cyrillic characters, I have been unable to write these words consistently, and must content myself with offering an apology to those who have a knowledge of this beautiful language to which I can make no pretensions.

Although the dialect of these Gypsies cannot positively be identified with any hitherto recorded dialect, there are close linguistic relations with the Romani of certain other records. I have found the Bukowina vocabulary given by Miklosich of great assistance in tracing words. Our dialect is similarly characterized by the presence of the neutral vowel, by the frequent loss of the first element in the sounds *tš* and *dž*, by the forms of the article *le*, *la*, *əl*, and by the fairly prevalent accentuation of final syllables. Without entering into minuter particulars, it is sufficient to observe that the whole body of Little Russian loan-words to be found there marks this dialect off sharply from ours. Bessarabian Romani differs mainly in the substitution of *u* for *o* in final syllables, e.g., *sanú* 'thin,' *lašjú* 'good.' There are besides words such as *tabáku*, *tjutjúnu* 'tobacco,' *oráš* 'town,' *žudekesáŕ* 'judge,' *čínč-zéč* 'fifty,' that are strange to the Gypsy Coppersmiths' speech. The list from Bélgorod (Mik. ii. 29) differs still further from ours.

The vocabularies from Galitsia (Mik. ii. 36 and vi. 4) agree more nearly with ours, but here again there are many Little Russian words. Other differences are the preservation of the first element in *tš*, common use of verbs with the *-in* suffix, retention of the negative *ma*, and the north Slavonic thick *l*.

From Sirmia in the south of Hungary we have two lists (Mik. vi. 22, 36). Here, too, the first element of *tš* is retained, and many of the words differ in form, e.g., *ažučar* 'to wait,' *bezah* 'sin,' *čer* 'house.' A point of resemblance is the use of verbs with *-i* and *-sar* suffixes. The lists from Servia show wider divergences still.

Ferencz Sztojka (*Románé Áldvá*, Kalocsa, 1886) prints a tale that might, but for its copiousness and true Gypsy attention to picturesque detail, have been recited by one of our Coppersmiths. Even here, however, there seems to be a slightly larger proportion of Hungarian loan-words than our friends use. Verb-stems in *-sar* preponderate over those in *-in*. Sztojka gives besides some

crude translations from Roman Catholic books of devotion. I transliterate from the Hungarian spelling his version of the Ave Maria:—

Drago av Marija, suntona sa san tu, raj si tusa thaj blago san tu maška le manušnje, thaj blago tje račadjipe šavo o Del, amaro manušnji sunto Marije, Devlehks sunto dej, rudjisar le Devles anda amende anda bezex aslende akana thaj pe merimahko tšaso.

His vocabulary is evidently an attempt to translate the words of a Hungarian dictionary, and is useless for comparative purposes. The loss of *s* in the termination *-esko* appears all through, while our Gypsies only occasionally admit this defect. In the Archduke Josef's grammar this peculiarity is attributed to the Gypsies dwelling 'zwischen der untern Donau und Theiss.'

It would seem then that our dialect lies between those of Bukowina and Galitsia, on the one hand, and that of Sirmia on the other, approaching nearer perhaps to the latter. This may afford an indication of its geographical origin. We may suppose that a line drawn on the map joining Bukowina with Sirmia should pass through the region in which our dialect took shape. Similarly, going from south-east to north-west, we may rule out the eastern side of the Carpathians (Wallachia and Moldavia). In Rumania *soba* is 'a stove,' but it means 'a room' on the west of the Carpathians. Our Gypsies use it in the latter sense, while in Constantinescu's tales from Rumania it is used for 'stove.' Besides this, our dialect has a few, though not many, Hungarian loan-words. Now, if we draw a line cutting the one already drawn at right angles at some point below the middle—nearer, that is, to Sirmia—and let this second line terminate south-eastward on the ridge of the Carpathians, and westward, say, at Csaba, the point of intersection on the Maros will serve as a centre within comparatively small radius of which must lie the region where our dialect originated. Nearer than this one can scarcely expect to get. Sztojka's dialect from the neighbourhood of Kolozsvar most nearly approaches to ours, but the speech of our friends has less Hungarian infection than his, and only rarely drops *s* in adjectival genitives. Consequently the middle and lower basin of the Maros, south or south-west of Kolozsvar (Klausenburg), supplies a more likely provenance.

However, the tribe has been, for several decades at least, widely nomadic. It is more than doubtful whether any connexion has been kept up with Transylvania, though Bataillard heard in

1872 of a head chieftain at Grosswardein who was said to direct and finance the wandering parties of Coppersmiths throughout Europe. Records of the speech of other wandering bands remain to be examined.

There seems little reason to doubt that Mr. Gilliat-Smith's *Lálere Sinte* (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 2-14) are practically identical with the so-called 'German Gypsies' (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 111-121). Miskow (*J. G. L. S.*, v. 14-36) has published phrases and a vocabulary obtained from the same people, from whom Dr. Sampson got the 'German Gypsy' tale printed at the last reference. They are now sedentary at Berlin. Broadly their dialect differs from ours in two particulars: the slackened breath-pressure which tends to change unaspirated *tenués* into unvoiced *mediae*, a distinctively Germanic trait; and the presence of a fair proportion of Hungarian loan-words. If, as seems likely, the speakers of this dialect, all of them horse-dealers, are ultimately of the same stock as our nomads, they must have passed a considerable time both in Hungary and Germany, while the Coppersmiths have been in Slavonic and Rumanian-speaking regions.

Miskow's collection of upwards of a hundred words and phrases, obtained from Demeters in Denmark and not yet edited, lies before me as I write. There is here, if I may coin a word, the same Germanization that we noticed in the speech of the *Lálere Sinte* as recorded by him, but there is room for the doubt whether Miskow's ear has not played him false in both cases. Even von Sowa, dealing with German Romani, writes (*Wörterbuch des Dialekts der Deutschen Zigeuner*, p. 4): 'Beim Gebrauch der *Tenués* und *Mediae* G[raffunder] L[ieblich] haben meistens die *Media* gehört und geschrieben, W[indisch] und ich die *Tenuis*.' One often misinterprets what one hears by what one expects. However this may be, the vocabulary presented by Miskow's phrases agrees closely with that of our Coppersmiths. The following are the main differences: *skrindan* 'you have written,' where our friends would use the stem *ghramisar-*, though they understood *skriisar-*; Miskow, however, has also *tu ramos* 'you write.' Possession is expressed curiously: *voj beske* 'she has,' *lesge* 'he has.' The Coppersmith *zahro* 'sugar' appears, by metathesis of the consonants, as *hasari*. *Genwar* 'book' is a Hungarian loan-word; *lavutar* 'fiddle' a Bohemian Gypsy word, to be found in Ješina; *girtšima* 'inn' is apparently used by our Coppersmiths, but very rarely. *Ek dat* 'once' occurs instead of *jek-var*; *dat*, however, is a Rumanian

loan. With *numa*, which is here translated 'but' (German *aber*), compare our *numaj* 'only.' There are besides several instances of loan-verbs with suffix *-in*, rare though not unknown in the speech of the Coppersmiths, which shows a preference for *-sar* stems. Ehrenborg's short list from Sweden (*J. G. L. S.*, iv. 73) appears to agree with Miskow's Demeter vocabulary, both differing a little from ours.

I.—PHONETICS AND ORTHOGRAPHY

§ 1. CONSONANTS.—The dialect has the following consonants in addition to the aspirate *h*. Corresponding pairs of 'breath' and 'voice' sounds are put together in the Table.

	Back	Front	Point	Blade	Blade-point	Lip	Lip-teeth
Open, .	χ <i>gh</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>s z</i>	<i>š ž</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>f</i>
Divided,			<i>l</i>				
Stop, . .	<i>k g</i>		<i>t d</i>			<i>p b</i>	
Nasal, .	<i>ŋ</i> (?)		<i>n</i>			<i>m</i>	

Back-Consonants.—I write *gh* for the sound of the Modern Greek γ , which appears in *ghramisar*- 'to write.' It sometimes interchanges with *h*. Mr. Winstedt also noted *paho* 'ice,' with an extraordinarily forcible *h*, less guttural than *gh*. Wishing to identify the sound our Honorary Secretary kindly angled for the word in my presence, leaving me to listen to the pronunciation. On this occasion the sound was a gentle aspirate, rather lacking in force. Tentatively I treat *gh* as the back-open-voice consonant.

I am doubtful about including back-nasal as a single sound, though, of course, it frequently precedes *g*. Like most north-countrymen I have a constitutional difficulty in appreciating this consonant. It seems to occur in *χain(g)* 'fountain.'

Point-Consonants.—*R* and *l* interchange in this Romani dialect as in so many languages. In some speakers I detected an unusual position in the formation of the two consonants. *R* was produced by means of the middle of the tongue acting against the

dome of the palate, with a distinct trill. This position is about half-way between that of the organs of speech in sounding *g* in German *sagen*, or in the Northumbrian burr (back-open-voice), and the position for *j* (English *y*, front-open-voice). Similarly, midway between back-divided-voice and front-divided-voice lies the corresponding *l*; that is to say, between Lettish *ḷ*, or Russian *l* in *lampa*, and the Italian *gl*. I am unable to give instances of this latter sound, but the palatal *r* occurs in *borori* 'bride,' and in *muro* 'my.'

One naturally thinks of cerebral *r*, but Mr. Gilliat-Smith informs me, after conversing with these Gypsies, that they do not employ the true cerebral *r* with which he is familiar in the Bulgarian Romani of sedentary Gypsies at Sofia.¹

T and *d* sometimes interchange: *av-ta*, *av-da* 'come!'

Lip-Consonants.—*F* is rare in words of the original stock. *V* is always bi-labial, the teeth not being used in its production, and it readily changes to *w*, which, for the sake of convenience, is in some positions written *ŭ*. Thus, *šaŭ* 'boy,' *kəraŭ* 'I make,' *taŭla* for *thovela* 'he puts.' Final *-aŭ* in verbs often becomes *-o*: *ženo* beside *džanaŭ* 'I know.'

In arranging the vocabulary I have treated *v* and *w* as one letter.

General Remarks on Consonants.—There is a common interchange between *t* and *k*, and sometimes it is difficult to decide which letter should be written, one sound running into the other in a curious way. This difficulty occurs with the following words: *keatro* 'theatre,' *kirvo* 'godfather,' *kirveli* 'present from a godfather,' *kirjav* 'to cook.' So too we find *pestji* for *peski*; *lažaveste* beside *lažaveski*.

P, *t*, *k* are in many cases aspirated *ph*, *th*, *kh*, but the records are not always consistent owing to the difficulty of appreciating the aspirate in this position. Mr. Winstedt is of opinion that these aspirates are much weaker in the speech of Group II.

Tš, *dž* so often lose the dental, and not only in rapid or careless speech, that it has been found best to write them thus rather than use the more convenient characters *č* and *ǰ*.

The dialect has developed a tendency to elide medial and final

¹ He writes: 'The Zagundžis (Moslem Nomads of the lowest caste, found in N.-E. Bulgaria) have an *r* very similar to the German *zapfen-r*, and pronounced in words where in Sofia, for example, one would find *ṛ*. The Christian Nomad Comb-makers (of the same district) use an *r* (in *ṛ* words) which is probably very similar to the Coppersmith *r* above described.'

-s, and less frequently -n. When this happens there is compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, which however remains pure without any glide.¹ For example: loss of -s, *ansurimā'ko*, *Tsaligradō'ko*, *lē'ko*, *djā'*, *šindjā'*, *emperatō'*; loss of -n, *amēgo*. This dropping of -n appears in some well-known words of the original stock: *pai* 'water,' *pe* 'sister,' *rai* 'lady,' *rašai* 'wife of a priest,' *tšoχai* 'witch,' *χaing* 'well.' Compare also the plural *dušmaia*, from *dušman* 'enemy,' and *bustaia* from *bustan*.

There is one instance of interchange between *χ* and *w*: *χolba*, *wolba* 'a litre.' With this should be compared *vorba* 'word,' and the form *hórba* given by Miklosich (v. 23) for another dialect.

Mouillierung is frequent, and, no doubt, is the proximate cause of the interchange of *t* and *k*. *Tj* often assumes the sound *tš*. Miklosich (iv. 4) finds the origin of this in Rumanian. It will be noticed that, when a consonant is followed by *i*, a preceding *a* may be sounded with the *j* glide: *pe tšajtši* 'to the right,' *svirajtši* 'musician.' I have often noticed the same thing in Russian pronunciation, and believe it to be a characteristic of one branch of the Slav languages.²

§ 2. VOWELS.—The vowels are *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, *ɛ*, with the diphthongs *aj*, *ej*, *oj*. The quantity is uniform, except that, for the sake of rhetorical emphasis, a vowel may be lengthened without any change of quality. Thus, *Dēvla* 'O God!' Loan-words sometimes retain long vowels: *fātsa* 'face.' Compensatory lengthening before an elided *s* or *n* has already been mentioned.

Final vowels are often difficult to distinguish, *a*, *e*, and *i* falling together, for instance, in the oblique cases of nouns. This is but one step removed from the production of the vowel *ɛ*.

U and *o* at times interchange: *luludžoro*, *luludžulo*; *Tšoron*, *Tšuron*. This is not confined to unaccented syllables as Miklosich suggests (iv. 4).

In some cases there is a tendency to convert *o* before *r* into low-back-narrow-round, the sound heard in English 'awe.' This,

¹ Elision of *s* before -*ko* is the rule in Sztojka's dialect. He marks the lengthened vowel by inserting *h*: *dadehko*. For loss of *s* in the 3rd S. Past of verbs see Mik. ix. 49.

² See Toussaint-Langenscheidt, *Brieflicher Sprach- und Sprech- Unterricht für das Selbststudium der Russischen Sprache*, Berlin, s. a., § 27, 'Bei der Mouillierung der Konsonanten hinter Vokalen, d. h. der auf Vokale folgenden Konsonanten, wird ebenfalls (aber nur in bestimmten Fällen) durch den schnellen Übergang der Zunge aus der Lage für den Vokal in die des mouillierten Konsonanten nur ein flüchtiger i- Vorschlag vernehmlich.'

however, is perhaps only an individual peculiarity. The proper name *Žāža* has this sound in the first syllable.

ɜ is written for two distinct sounds. Usually it represents the low-in-front-narrow vowel of Swedish *lär*, as in *kærsla* 'he makes,' *khærɜ* 'at home.' This sound may be produced by drawing the tongue slightly back while pronouncing the English word 'air.' The other sound of *ɜ* occurs sporadically. I have only two certain examples in my notebook, where I used *y* to represent it. These are *sy* 'is,' and *bysas* 'we sit.' This sound is probably the same as the *u* in French *pur*, i.e. high-front-narrow-round.

The diphthongs are formed with the *j* glide; e.g. *wajda* 'chief,' *tšimpoj* 'bagpipes,' *šej* 'girl,' *rašaj* 'priest,' *raj* 'gentleman.' Where *a* and *i* come together, owing to the elision of *n*, the two vowels are sounded separately as written: *pai* 'water,' *rai* 'lady.'

§ 3. STRESS.—The dialect is in a transition state as regards the incidence of the accent or word-stress. Full treatment is impossible owing to the absence of accents in much of the collected material. Some of the manuscripts, however, are carefully marked, and attention is called especially to Texts I. (a), III. (b), III. (d), III. (f), and IV. (d), as also to some of the sentences in V. (b). Generally speaking, the *Oxytonierung* of native words is retained, and the stress is sufficiently strong to attract attention. In my own manuscripts I was content to mark only very decided accents: compare, for instance, Text I. (d), where I have marked *borí* oxytone. Other examples will be found in Texts IV. (a), and IV. (b). That the dialect should be classed as predominantly oxytone is also the opinion of Mr. Gilliat-Smith. While talking to one of the sons of Míloš Tšóron, Mr. Winstedt said *párno* (possibly with a glide *r*) and was not understood until some one corrected the accent, *parnó*. Abstract nouns in *-pe*, *-be* seem all to be oxytone. Note also *andré*, *anglé*, *šudró*, *šukár*. The intensive particle *do* attracts the accent to itself in *dópaš*, but does not affect the stress in *doparnó*. Verbs with full termination are, of course, paroxytone, but there is an instance of the elision of an accented syllable *kár'la* for *kæréla*, very common in all Balkan dialects.

Kame-merás which Mr. Winstedt clearly remembers to have been pronounced as one word, and which consequently he takes as a variant of *kam-merás*, 'we shall die,' seems to me rather to be an instance of irregular stress. I read *k' áme merás* 'for we shall

die,' and compare Text II. (d), *Soste áme, phrala, bśśás* where the same unusual stress is marked in the manuscript.

II.—WORD-FORMATION

§ 1. VERBAL SUFFIXES.—Derivative verbs add one or another of the following suffixes to the theme. For the whole subject see Miklosich, x. 79 ff.

-av suffix: *amblav-*, *darav-*, *garav-*, *χoχav-*, *lažav-*, *malav-*, *murav-*, *pagav-*, *pandav-*, *parav-*, *prindžav-*, *pusav-*, *spidav-*, *kirjav-*. These are causatives. Thus *darava* 'I fear,' causative *daravava* 'I frighten.'

-jov suffix: *bandjov-*, (*bandjola* for *bandjovela*), *barjov-*, *bušjov-*, *haljov-*, *hatšjov-*, *matjov-*, *najuv-*, *paruv-*, *pašov-*, *phabarjov-*, *phurjov-*, *tasjov-*, *ternjov-*. Some of these are denominatives. They mean 'being' or 'becoming' that which the theme denotes. Passives are regularly formed with this suffix.

-iar suffix: *kaliar-*, *lašiar-*, *parniar-*. Causative denominatives. Thus *kalo* 'black,' *kaliarava* 'I blacken.' Add perhaps *ratšiar-* 'to pass the night.'

-er suffix: *adžukar-*, *angor-*, *butar-*, *džindžar-*, *drabar-*, *druker-*, *χasar-*, *χatšer-*, *linger-*, *ninger-*, *motar-*, *mudar-*, *murder-*, *mutar-*, *pagar-*, *pandar-*, *phabar-*, *prasar-*, *prindžar-*, *šular-*, *telar-*, *zumer-*. Mostly causatives. The verb *bangar* is probably a -iar stem altered from *bandjar*.

-in suffix: *motin-*, *rhodin-*, *služin-*. Not, properly speaking, a suffix (Mik. x. 89). Miklosich, unacquainted with Bulgarian Romani, says that this stem-formation is found only in the Hungarian and Bohemian dialects. In Rumanian Romani its place is generally taken by accented -i, of which we have these examples: *ansuri-*, *araduji-*, *furbi-*, *kostali-*, *lovodi-*, *nškšži-*, *tepori-*, *traji-*, all loan-words.

-sar suffix: *ghramisar-*, *gəndisar-*, *gətisar-*, *kəntarisar-*, *prahosar-*, *trajsar-*, *jərtisar-*, *zajlisar-*. All loan-words.

§ 2. SUBSTANTIVAL SUFFIXES.—Among the suffixes used to form nouns the following may be mentioned:

-os: *džezus*, *džeszoz* 'railway train,' is the only instance of this suffix which is so commonly used with loan-words in Anglo-Romani. But there are several examples of -o for -os: *bitšo*, *emperato*, *fundo*.

-ari: *votrari, furbari, bufari, tiari*. The fact that this last word comes into line with other words in *-ari* makes me sceptical about the derivation proposed as possible in the vocabulary. This suffix is used with loan-words only.

-ra: (diminutives) very frequent: *borori, luludžoro, phuroro, šavoro*.

-ava: (used to form feminine loan-words), *luljava, poniava*.

-a: (used to form masculine loan-words), *raka, stakana, tiguia, žoja*.

-in: (added to names of fruits to denote the tree that bears them), *phabalin*.

-in: (very frequently used with roots of Indian and other origin), *asfin, ašlin, filatin, karfin, kolín, mandžin*.

-ni: (forming feminine nouns), *buzni, romni, ra(n)i, raša(n)i*.

-itsa, -etsa: (of Slavonic origin), *birtositsa, kakavitsa, kretevetisa, krišmaritsa, luljavitsa*. Often diminutive.

The whole of what Miklosich says (x. 1, ff.) may profitably be studied. I may here mention the Rumanian termination *-arika*, applied to *mašo* 'fish,' to form *mašarika* 'sea-gull.' Compare Rumanian *mișlică* 'kitten,' and our Gypsies' *tsaparika* 'sal ammoniac,' from Rumanian *țipirig*.

§ 3. ABSTRACT NOUNS.—Abstract nouns are formed from verbs and adjectives with the suffix *-pe, -be*; the stress always falls on the suffix. Before adding the suffixes of the oblique stem, *-pe, -be* (for *-pen, -ben*) is contracted to *-m*. The oblique stem ends in *-as*. Thus from *khelipé* 'fun,' we get *khelimas-* (for *khelipenes-*). According to Miklosich this oblique stem, hardened to *-mos*, is sometimes employed as a new nominative, e.g. *khelimós* 'dancing.' The *-mos* termination of abstract nouns occurs frequently in this dialect, but the explanation of Miklosich seems very doubtful.

§ 4. PARTICIPLES.—Participles are variously formed in *-no, -do, -lo, -ilo*. For example, *dino, bešlo, kerdo, avilo*.¹ Verb-stems in *-sar* contract the participle to *-sajlo*: e.g. *χasajlo*. Cf. Miklosich, v. 4. All passive verbs form the participle in *-ilo*.

There is also a gerund in *-indo(s)* of which the records contain only one written instance: *roindo* 'weeping.' Generally the

¹ Verb-stems ending in *r, n*, and probably also *l, v, z*, take *-do*; those ending in *k, s, š*, and probably also *g, t, d, p, m*, take *-lo*. The termination *-no* is rare, e.g. *dino, lino*. *Av-* 'to come,' forms the participle *avilo*; *aš-* 'to stop,' *ašilo*. The material is too scanty to allow of a complete statement.

instrumental of the de-verbal abstract noun is used in this sense: *roimasa* 'with weeping.'

Tomnime 'fiancée' (literally 'bargained'), *meskerime* 'befooled,' and *pirome* 'cracked,' are participles formed with the Greek suffix -μένος. Cf. Miklosich, x. 54.

III.—ACCIDENCE

§ 1. THE ARTICLE.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
Masculine: Nom.	<i>o</i> .	<i>o, le, lje</i> .
Oblique	<i>le, la</i> .	<i>le, lɛ</i> .
Feminine: Nom.	<i>i, e</i> .	<i>le, ol, ɛl, el</i> .
Oblique	<i>la, le</i> .	<i>le</i> .

Proper names usually have the article: *puš katar o Anton* 'inquire of Mr. Winstedt.'

In the masculine plural we generally find *le*: *le gaže ašile len te žana* 'the gorgios stopped them from going.' This must be counted the normal use of the dialect, but the more correct use occurs rarely: *o ušara* 'the ashes'; *avile o rom* 'the Gypsies came.'

The expression *e love* 'the money,' found also in Paspatis, puzzled Miklosich (xi. 27). His explanation is that it is really oblique, standing for *e loven*; but I would suggest that in our dialect *love*, always used in the plural, is felt to have singular meaning, and so is treated as though it were a feminine noun singular.

An apparent exception in the masculine plural oblique *trebul e Romen pai* 'the men need water' (literally, 'water is necessary for the men'), should be corrected to *le Romen*; compare *le grasten, lɛ Romengi*.

In the feminine singular *e* and *i* are used indiscriminately: *e kakavi* 'the kettle,' beside *i kakavi*.

In the feminine plural nominative there is one instance of *i tširiklia*, beside the usual *le tširiklia*. In *k'ɛl mimeri* 'at noon,' the plural article is used by analogy with *k'ɛl dui, k' ol enja, k'ɛl deŋenge*, scil. *tšasuri* (*tšasuria*), a Rumanian plural treated as feminine, though the singular *tšaso* is masculine.

In expressions such as *le devleski širikli* 'the stork,' the article agrees with the adjectival genitive and is therefore put in the oblique form. If, however, the genitive is felt to be an adjective,

the article may agree with the subject: *Janko ho Džurjesko* 'Janko the son of Džuri.'

§ 2. DECLENSION OF NOUNS.—*Nouns masculine* terminate in the nominative singular in *-o*, *-a* (loan-words), *-i*, *-o(s)* (loan-words), *-aj*, or a consonant. Those in *-o* change this to *-e* for the nominative plural: those in a consonant, *-i*, or *-aj* add *-a*. Original Romani words are frequently used without change in the plural: *sas trin phral* 'there were three brothers.' Loan-words in *-a* change this to *-i* for the plural, or more usually to *-úri*, or *-úria* (Rumanian plural). Note that *rašaj* 'priest,' has a contracted plural *raša*.

Masculine vocative singular ends in *-e* or *-a*, sometimes *-eja*. Examples: *manuša* 'man!', *Devla* 'God!', *phrala* 'brother!', *Padjamneja* 'O Padjamno!'. Exceptional are *o Djel* 'God!', *a rom* 'man!', *dade le* 'father!', *kako* 'uncle!' With *kako* compare Paspatis's nomad *kako* in place of the sedentary *kake*. The forms in *-aj* are poetical; an unrecorded song, for instance, begins *Zános, Dévlaj, so kerélaj?* and *lumaj* is also found in songs.

Masculine vocative plural ends in *-a*, *-ale*. Examples: *Roma* 'men!', *šavorale* 'mates!'. Exceptional are *tšavori!*, *Romelaj!*

Masculine oblique stem singular ends in *-es*, plural *-en*. Note that *-aje-* is contracted to *-a*, or *-e*:—*raj*, accusative *ras*, *res*: while *-uje-* becomes *-o*: *moste* from *mui*. The oblique stem without case-suffix is used as an accusative.

Loan-words in *-o*, for *-os*, form the oblique stem in *-os*, e.g., *Woršoske*; *Savolosko*; *šmparatos*; *Tsaligrado'ko* for *Tsaligradosko*; *foro'ko* for *forosko*. By analogy with these we get *šerekanos* 'many-headed creature' (acc.) instead of *šerekanes*. Loan-words in *-a* form the oblique stem in *-as*, e.g., *vadrasa*.

Nouns feminine terminate in *-i*, a consonant, or *-a*, and form their plural by changing the vowel to *-ja*, *-ia*; to a consonant *-ia* is added.

Feminine vocative singular is generally like the nominative, but *bibi* 'aunt' has *bibe!*, *pe* 'sister,' *peni!* *penie!*, *de* (*daj*) 'mother,' *dali!* *dale!* Text III. (e) has the variant *daje*.

Feminine vocative plural is like the nominative plural.

Feminine oblique stem singular ends in *-ia*: plural *-ian*.

Accusative.—Substantives do not employ the oblique stem as an accusative case unless they denote animate beings, and loan-words have properly no special form for the accusative. One

notes, however, that proper names can take the accusative form, *arakhlja le Milošes taj Matejes* 'he found Miloš and Matěj.' A possible exception to the rule about loan-words is the curious *bogonen, bogunjen*, in the second line of the song 'Tsutso,' Text III. (f).

Other cases.—The remaining cases are formed by adding to the oblique stems, singular and plural, the terminations *-te* (*-de*), *-ke* (*-ge*), *-tar* (*-dar*), *-sa* (*-tsa*). The resulting cases may conveniently be denominated prepositional, dative, ablative, and instrumental.

A locative is occasionally found: *Luini* 'on Monday,' *Mard-sini* 'on Tuesday,' *Sabaton* 'on Saturday,' *khere* 'at home,' *bule* in *me daŭ tut bule*. The prepositional supplies this case where a special form is wanting, and even where it is not—*bulende*. This case is also directive: compare the two uses in *žana khere*; *arasena khere* 'they go homewards; they arrive at home.'

The use of the cases will be dealt with later.

Noteworthy is *phurimata* 'old age' (cf. Miklosich, xi. 7) in which the termination springs from Greek neuter plural *-ματα*.

Rumanian plurals are not infrequent: *birturia* 'inns,' *pasuria* 'strides,' *časuri* 'hours' (Mik. xi. 7). These are sometimes treated as feminines, no doubt by analogy with the true Romani feminine plural.

The so-called genitive is really a de-substantival adjective, and is dealt with in the next section.

SUBSTANTIVES MASCULINE

With ending *-o*: examples from *šavo, šavoro* 'son'; *vastaro* 'handle'; *diklo* 'kerchief'; *gadžo* 'non-Gypsy'; *punro* 'foot'; *šogoro* 'brother-in-law.'

With ending in a consonant: *phral* 'brother'; *dad* 'father'; *kašt* 'wood'; *berš* 'year.'

With ending in *-i*: *pai* (for *pani*) 'water.'

With ending in *-a*: *vadra* 'bucket'; *Jorška* a proper name.

With ending in *-o* for *-os*: *šperato* 'emperor'; *fundo* 'bottom'; *bitšo* 'whip.'

To make up for deficiency in material the declensions of *raklo* 'lad,' and its feminine counterpart *rakli*, are given with slight orthographical changes from Miklosich xi. 5, 13. Examples are added from the records of the Coppersmiths' dialect.

	-o	consonant	-i	-a	-o(s)
S. Nom. <i>rakló</i>					
Voc. <i>raklé</i>		<i>dad-e, phral-a</i>			
Acc. <i>raklés</i>		<i>phral-es</i>			<i>ōmperat-os</i>
Prep. <i>rakléste</i>					<i>fund-oste</i>
Dat. <i>rakléske</i>	<i>šav-eske</i>	<i>phralj-eske</i>		<i>Joršk-aske</i>	<i>ōmperat-oske</i>
Abl. <i>rakléstar</i>	<i>vastar-estar</i>		<i>pai-estar</i>		
Inst. <i>raklésa</i>	<i>dikl-esa</i>	<i>kašt-esa</i>		<i>vadr-asu</i>	<i>bitš-osa</i>
P. Nom. <i>raklé</i>	<i>šav-e</i>	<i>phral-a</i>			
Voc. <i>raklá</i>	<i>šavor-a</i>	<i>phral-a</i>			
Acc. <i>raklén</i>	<i>gadž-en</i>	<i>phral-en</i>			
Prep. <i>raklénde</i>	<i>punr-ende</i>				
Dat. <i>raklénge</i>	<i>gadž-enge</i>	<i>berš-enge</i>			
Abl. <i>raklendar</i>					
Inst. <i>raklentsa</i>	<i>šogor-ensa</i>	<i>phral-entsa</i>			

SUBSTANTIVES FEMININE

With ending in *-i*: examples from *romni* 'wife'; *tširikli* 'bird.'

With ending in a consonant: *phen* (*phe*) 'sister'; *mol* 'wine'; *bokh* 'hunger'; *bul* 'pudendum'; *balval* 'wind.'

With ending in *-a*: *Rusia* 'Russia'; *kompania* 'company'; *familia* 'family.'

	-i	consonant	-a
S. Nom. <i>rakli</i>			
Voc. <i>rakli</i>		<i>phen-i, phen-ie</i>	
Acc. <i>rakljá</i>	<i>romni-a</i>		
Prep. <i>rakljáte</i>		<i>moli-ate</i>	<i>Rusi-ate</i>
Dat. <i>rakljáke</i>	<i>romni-ake</i>		<i>kompani-ake</i>
Abl. <i>rakljátar</i>		<i>balvali-atar, bokh-atar</i>	
Inst. <i>rakljása</i>	<i>romni-asa</i>	<i>moli-asa</i>	<i>famili-asa</i>
P. Nom. <i>rakljá</i>	<i>tširikli-a</i>	<i>phej-a</i>	
Voc. <i>rakljá</i>			
Acc. <i>raklján</i>	<i>tširikli-an</i>		
Prep. <i>rakljánde</i>			
Dat. <i>rakljánge</i>			
Abl. <i>rakljándar</i>			
Inst. <i>rakljántsa</i>		<i>bul-ansa</i>	

Note that some of the examples of the Dative have been supplied by analogy from what are actually in the records adjectival genitives. See also I. § 2 (*supra*) for instability of final vowels.

§ 3. ADJECTIVES AND ADJECTIVAL WORDS.—Adjectives end in *-o* masculine, and *-i* feminine. Adjectives used as substantives

are declined according to the rules already given. When used as epithets they take the termination *-e* for the nominative plural, and for the oblique cases both singular and plural: e.g. *le bare kakavia*, *peske dui žamutren*, *peske duje šogorensa*, *le bare bulengo*.

Sometimes, however, an epithet is declined like a substantive:¹ *phrala dilija* 'silly brother!'; *phendja le tsignesks phraljs'ke* 'said to the little brother'; *te phenas amars'ku phure dadjs'ke* 'we must say to our old father'; *pogrebo la moliassa la phuriasa* 'cellar with the old wine.'

This use is recognised by Miklosich as regular in Rumanian Romani when the adjective follows its noun (xi. 28), but it is frequent in Constantinescu both before and after the noun. So too, in Miklosich iv., tale 4, p. 18, there is an example showing the adjective declined as a noun in both positions: *haj kodolés kroitóres sach les dešudúj čelédniči. aj kadáles le raklés le šmparatós-kšras na prindžánla o kroitóru*. Miklosich is probably wrong in considering this use before the noun as incorrect.

The following, ending in consonants, are generally indeclinable: *sar* 'all,' *but* 'many,' 'much,' *šukar* 'nice,' *nasul* 'bad.'

Comparison of Adjectives.—The usual way of forming the comparative is by prefixing *maj*, 'more': *maj lašo*, *maj mišto*. Tódor, son of Míloš Tšóron, once used *feteder* for 'better.' After a comparative *sar* 'than' is used: *maj lašo sar . . .* 'better than . . .' For the superlative *but* is used: *but phuro* 'very old.' Note that *o maj baro phral* is the usual expression for 'the eldest brother,' whether of two or more.

De-substantival Adjectives.—The so-called genitive is, in this dialect, formed from the oblique stem of a substantive or pronoun by the addition of the *-ka* suffix: from masculine singular, *masesko*, *Devlesko*, *Bumbolosko*; from masculine plural, *grastengo*; from feminine singular, *kompaniako*, *šuriako*. Though in general and by origin adjectives, they are sometimes treated as true genitives, thus *si tu gšndo Tsaligrado'ko* 'are you thinking of Constantinople?'

There are a few examples of the *-kara* suffix: *bi-grastengoro urdon* 'motor-car,' *De le Devleskeri* 'Mother of God.' To these add *me xaũ lakri mindž*. The distinction apparently is this: the

¹ *Savoreng le kompaniake* 'to all the company,' does not belong here. *Savoro* 'all,' in this phrase is used substantivally, and *le kompaniake* is a genitive, or de-substantival adjective, agreeing with it and declined as an epithet in the usual way. Or it might be explained as two substantives in apposition.

-ka suffix is used when the idea is completely epithetical¹; the -kara suffix when the idea of a genitive is retained, that is, when the substantive is still felt to be a substantive.

Exactly similar forms attach to the pronouns of the third person, and to demonstratives and interrogatives.

It will be observed that all these genitives are declined like ordinary adjectives.

The cases of undeclined substantives used for genitives, *kila mas* 'pound(?) of meat,' *e kompania Nikola* 'Nikola's party,' *kotor manro* 'a bit of bread,' are subordinating compounds.² They are to be distinguished from co-ordinating compounds called by Sanskrit grammarians *dvandva*. In the former one member is defined by the other: in *dvandva*, for example, the Anglo-Romani *kil-mâro* 'bread and butter,' the two members are merely coupled. Compounds of either kind are interesting as showing an early stage of the process by which apparently simple words have been evolved from two or more terms.

§ 4. NUMERALS.—In the formation of compound numerals there is a curious regularity governing the conjunction used which has a parallel in the Bukowina dialect. See Mik. ii. 35.

In the following list it must be understood that the conjunction remains the same as the first given in each decade.

1. *ek, jek, jekh.* 2. *dui, do.* 3. *trin.* 4. *štar, star.* 5. *pandž, pantš.* 6. *šov, šo.* 7. *jefta.* 8. *oxto.* 9. *enja.* 10. *deš, des.* 11. *deš-u-jekh.*³ 20. *biš, bis.* 21. *biš-thaj-jekh.* 30. *trianda.* 31. *trianda-haj-jekh.* 40. *saranda, štar-var-deš.* 41. *štar-var-deš-thaj-jekh.* 50. *pandž-var-deš.* 60. *šo-var-deš.* 70. *jefta-var-deš.* 80. *oxto-var-deš.* 90. *enja-var-deš.* (From forty to a hundred the conjunction is *thaj*.) 100. *šel.* 101. *šel-thaj-jekh.* 200. *dui šela.* 201. *dui-šela-haj-jekh.* 1000. *mia.* 2000. *dui mi.*

The cardinals generally remain unaltered, but they can take the oblique form of adjectives, thus: *šove bogunen tradaš*. Similarly but 'many,' 'much,' which otherwise is indeclinable, is at times treated in the same way: *buti manušen mudardja* 'he killed many men,' *buti-var simas ando Liverpool* 'I was often in Liverpool.'

The ordinals are formed with the suffix -to: *duito* 'second,' *trito* 'third,' *deš-u-šovto* 'the sixteenth (of the month).'

¹ That the substantival origin is not quite left out of sight is evident from the fact that the article agrees with the genitive.

² Brugmann, *Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Germanic Languages*, vol. ii. § 49.

³ For 'twelve' there is one instance of *deš-thaj-dui*.

Distributives are expressed by means of the particle *po* of Slavonic origin. *Po jek* 'one by one,' *po dui* 'by twos.'

Collectives are formed with *žene* 'people.' *Dui žene* 'two together,' *trin žene* 'three.'

Time.—Expressions used in telling the time are interesting: *štar haj štar-var-deš* '4.40 o'clock,' *jefta bi-dešengo* 'ten minutes to seven,' *pandž bi-bišengo* 'twenty to five,' *deš-u-dui bi-deš-u-pandžengo* 'a quarter to twelve.' (Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, vi. 85.)

Lapse of time, time during which a thing or condition persists, is expressed without the intervention of a preposition, e.g. *bešle bis berš* 'they dwelt for twenty years,' *služinesa jeg berš* 'you will serve one year.'

§ 5. PRONOUNS.—In the accompanying table forms which I have not found recorded are placed in brackets.

	I.	Thou.	He.	She.
Nom.	<i>me, mje</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>vo, wo</i>	<i>voj</i>
Acc.	<i>man, ma</i>	<i>tut</i>	<i>les</i>	<i>la</i>
Prep.	<i>mande</i>	<i>tute</i>	<i>leste</i>	<i>(late)</i>
Dat.	<i>mange</i>	<i>tuke</i>	<i>leske</i>	<i>lake</i>
Abl.	<i>(mandar)</i>	<i>(tutar)</i>	<i>lestar</i>	<i>(latar)</i>
Instr.	<i>mansa</i>	<i>tusa</i>	<i>(lesa)</i>	<i>(lasa)</i>

	We.	You.	They.
Nom.	<i>amé</i>	<i>tumé</i>	<i>von, won</i>
Acc.	<i>(amen)</i>	<i>tumen</i>	<i>len</i>
Prep.	<i>amende</i>	<i>(tumende)</i>	<i>lende</i>
Dat.	<i>amenge</i>	<i>tumenge</i>	<i>lenge</i>
Abl.	<i>(amendar)</i>	<i>(tumendar)</i>	<i>lendar</i>
Instr.	<i>(amensa)</i>	<i>(tumensa)</i>	<i>(lensa)</i>

The Reflexive Pronoun.—Sing. acc. *pes, pe*; prep. *peste*; plural acc. *pen*; dat. *penge*. In the first and second persons the accusative of the personal pronoun is used. Note that *pes* occurs once as plural. The reading *sas pe* for the usual *sas kaj sas* 'once upon a time there was,' has a parallel in Mik. *Beiträge*, iv. 2, *has peske, na has peske jek raj*.

Enclitic Pronouns.—A pronoun used as the direct object of a verb is often added to the verb in a shortened form: *sas-pe* 'there was,' *lja-li* 'took them,' *phandada-li* 'shut them up,' *žala te mutarel-pe*, *ambolda-me* 'I shall return,' *platšajamo* for *platšeaŭma* 'I will please.' In the texts I have not joined these enclitics to the verb.

Pronoun as Remote Object.—The dative of the remote object, when it is a pronoun, is often shortened to the form of the accusative. The final consonant of this is sometimes dropped: *de man variso* 'give me something,' *me dař tut bule, me-dař la bule, dav tu jek diklo* 'I give you a handkerchief,' *naj ma kana te dav tusa duma* 'I have no time to talk with you now,' *me tři demas tu e kakavi* 'I would not have given you the kettle.' The ethical dative may be shortened: *avilo man*, Text I. (a).

Possessives.—The following forms have been met with—My: *miro, muro, mšro, mo*. Thy: *tiro, tjiro, tširo, tjo, tšo*. Our: *amaro*. Your: *tumaro*. In the third person these are formed like the so-called genitives of substantives. His: *lesko, leskro*. Her: *lako, lakro*. Their: *lengo, lengro*. Add the reflexive possessive *pesko*, which is used both of a singular and a plural subject, e.g. *pestji* (for *peski*) *voja te kšren* 'to do their pleasure.'

All these possessives are declined in the usual way as epithets with plural in *-i*, oblique in *-e*.

Demonstrative Pronouns.—These are very numerous in Rumanian Romani. In our dialect the following have been found: *ada* 'this,' *kado, kada* (fem. *katja*) 'this,' *kadalesko* 'of this,' *koko* 'that,' *kako* 'this,' *kokojesko* 'some of that,' *kodo* 'that,' *ka* 'these,' *naj ka na laše* 'these are not good,' *trobul te mudaras kodoles šerekamos* 'we must kill that many-headed creature,' *kudala tširiklia* 'those birds.' These examples show that *kado, kodo* take for their oblique stem *kadoles, kodoles*; while *koko, kako* take *kokojes, kakojes*. Frequently the *ko*-demonstratives are better rendered in English by 'this.'

Relative and Interrogative Pronouns.—

kon, ko 'who': *o raj kasko si o phuv* 'the owner of the land.'

so (once *son*) 'what': *so te kerav?* 'what shall I do?' *soste?* 'why?'

sode? 'how much?': *sode tšaso?* 'what time is it?'

savo 'which': *savengo fabrika?* 'a manufactory of what sort of goods?'

tše? 'what?': *tše tšaso?* 'what is the time?'

The examples show that *kon* and *so* are declined in the singular. For the plural perhaps the indeclinable relative is used.

Indeclinable Relative.—*Kaj, ke, ka* is used as a relative: *o manuš kaj si le štar bare kekavia* 'the man whose are the four big kettles,' *o rom kaj si dui peja* 'the man who has two sisters,' *ka naj love kosel le grasten* 'he who has no money will groom the

horses,' *žulia ke miš khandela* a phrase corresponding to the Anglo-Romani *lubšnies*. This is the same word as *kaj* 'where,' and is used for a relative exactly as the Bulgarian *děto* 'where' is used.

I am inclined to take *sas kaj sas* 'once upon a time there was,' to mean literally 'there was where it was.' It may, however, be relative 'there was who was,' or simply 'there was and there was.' The phrase is rendered *a fost când a fost* by Constantinescu, but I do not think *kaj* can mean 'when.' Compare in Bulgarian Moslem Nomad Romani *si kai si*, translated by Mr. Gilliat-Smith (*J. G. L. S.*, vi. 142), 'there is where there is.'¹

§ 6. THE VERB.—*Verb Substantive*.—The forms of the substantive verb that have been recorded are shown in the paradigm:—

PRESENT		IMPERFECT	
Singular.	1. <i>sim, ssm</i>	Singular.	1. <i>simas</i>
	2. <i>san</i>		2. <i>sanas</i>
	3. <i>si</i>		3. <i>sas, sa</i>
Plural.	1. <i>som, sam</i>	Plural.	1. <i>samas</i>
	2. <i>san</i>		2. <i>sanas</i>
	3. <i>si</i>		3. <i>sas, sa</i>

In the third person there are the negative forms: *naj, na* 'is not,' 'are not,' *nas, na* 'was not,' 'were not.'

The copula may be omitted, e.g. *ame ando Belfast* 'we (were) in Belfast.'

Tenses.—Apart from a few impersonal verbs, the remainder have two principal tenses, a present used also with a future meaning, and a past. The present tense employs the endings *-ava, -esa, -ela*, for first, second, and third person Singular; *-asa, -ena, -ana*, for the persons of the Plural. The final *-a* is frequently omitted and the other vowel, especially in monosyllabic verbs, varies irregularly between *e* and *a*. Verb-stems in accented *-i* use *i* in the second and third persons Singular: see the paradigm of *trajt* below. The termination *-ava* frequently contracts.

The past tense is formed from the participle which is used for the third person. The terminations are Singular, first person *-om*, second *-an*; Plural, first person *-am*, second *-an*. The vowels of the first person are often irregular. In place of the participle in

¹ In Albanian folk-tales the opening phrase is *ishte se tsh-ishte*, 'there was what was.' See *Albanesische Grammatik*, by Dr. G. Weigand (Leipzig, 1913), p. 184.

the third person singular the regular termination *-as*, often shortened to *-a*, is generally used. Monosyllabic verbs sometimes contract the past tense, thus *la-* 'to take,' participle *lino*, past *ljim* for **linjom*.

By adding *-as* to the short personal endings of the present an imperfect tense is formed: *rovel* 'he weeps,' *rovelas* 'he was weeping,' *toles* 'he was putting,' *kerenas* 'they were making.' Similarly a pluperfect tense is formed, of which we have only one example, from *dav* 'I give,' past *dem* 'I gave,' pluperfect *démas* 'I had given.' The imperfect and pluperfect are used as conditional or hypothetical (Text v. (b) 18). The regular present and past tenses serve for a subjunctive mood when they follow *te* 'that,' *te na*, *dena* 'lest.' When the sense is future the present tense usually has the full endings *-ava*, *-esa*, *-ela*; *-asa*, *-ena*, *-ana*; but there seems to be no fixed rule. Sometimes *kam* from the verb *kamav* 'I wish,' is prefixed to a future, e.g. *kam-kerela* 'he will make,' *kam-pela* 'he will drink.'

The following paradigms illustrate the manner of conjugating verbs. Only such forms are given as have actually been recorded, and most will be found in the accompanying texts. In two instances where the first person singular of the present tense would otherwise have been missing it is supplied in brackets.

PRESENT TENSE

	Make	Kill	Give
S.	1. <i>kerav</i> , <i>keraṽ</i>	(<i>mudarava</i>)	<i>dava</i> , <i>dav</i> , <i>dař</i>
	2. <i>keresa</i>	<i>mudaresa</i>	<i>desa</i> , <i>des</i>
	3. <i>kerela</i> , <i>kerel</i>	<i>mudarel</i>	<i>dela</i> , <i>del</i>
Pl.	1. <i>keras</i>	<i>mudara'</i>	...
	2. ...	...	...
	3. <i>kerena</i> , <i>keren</i>	<i>mudaren</i>	<i>den</i>

PAST TENSE

	Make	Kill	Give
S.	1. <i>kerdem</i>	<i>mudardem</i>	<i>dem</i>
	2. <i>ker'an</i> , <i>kerdjan</i>	<i>mudardan</i>	...
	3. <i>kerdjas</i> , <i>kerdja</i>	<i>mudardjas</i> , <i>mudardja</i>	<i>da</i> , <i>dja</i>
Pl.	1. <i>kerdam</i> , <i>kerdom</i>	<i>mudardjam</i>	...
	2. ...	<i>mudardjan</i>	...
	3. ...	<i>mudarde</i>	<i>dine</i>

PRESENT TENSE

	Eat	Drink	Take
S.	1. <i>χaŕ</i>	<i>piava, piaŕ, pja</i>	<i>laŕ, la, lavo</i>
	2. <i>χasa, χas</i>	<i>pesa, pias</i>	...
	3. <i>χala, χal</i>	<i>pela, piel</i>	<i>lela, lila</i>
Pl.	1. <i>χas</i>	<i>pias</i>	<i>lasa</i>
	2. <i>χan</i>	...	...
	3. <i>χana, χan</i>	<i>pien</i>	<i>ljena, len</i>

PAST TENSE

S.	1. <i>χajom, χaljam</i>	<i>pilem, piljem</i>	<i>ljim</i>
	2. <i>χajan, χaljan</i>	...	...
	3. <i>χaljas, χalas</i>	...	<i>ljas, lja, la</i>
Pl.	1. ...	<i>piljam</i>	<i>ljam</i>
	2. ...	...	...
	3. ...	...	<i>line, le</i>

PRESENT TENSE

	Go	Come
S.	1. <i>džav, ža</i>	<i>wava</i>
	2. <i>džasa, žas</i>	<i>avesa, javesa</i>
	3. <i>džala, džal ; žala, žal</i>	<i>avela, avel, avil</i>
Pl.	1. <i>džas, žas</i>	...
	2. ...	...
	3. <i>žana</i>	<i>aven</i>

PAST TENSE

S.	1. ...	<i>avajom</i>
	2. <i>gilan</i>	...
	3. <i>gelo (m.) geli (f.)</i> ¹	<i>aviljas, vilja, aveja</i>
Pl.	1. ...	<i>aviljam, avilem, 'vilom</i>
	2. ...	...
	3. <i>gele</i>	<i>avile</i>

¹ *gela* occurs once for the feminine. This is due probably to the shifting back of the accent and the development of a final vowel approximating to *ɛ*. I do not think it is short for *gelas*.

PRESENT TENSE

	Buy	Dwell
S. 1.	(<i>tšinava</i>)	<i>trajaǎ</i>
2.	...	<i>trajis</i>
3.	<i>tšinel</i>	<i>trajil</i>
Pl. 1.	<i>tšinas</i>	<i>traj(sar)as</i>
2.	...	...
3.	(<i>po-</i>) <i>tšinen</i>	<i>trajena</i>

PAST TENSE

	Buy
S. 1.	<i>tšindem</i>
2.	(<i>po-</i>) <i>tšindan</i>
3.	...
Pl. 1.	<i>tšindam</i>
2.	...
3.	...

In the past tense of verbs the pronunciation varies between, for instance, *ljas* and *lias*, sometimes even *lijas*. The reader will kindly bear this in mind, though, for the sake of uniformity, I use *j* in the paradigms.

The Passive Voice.—The passive is formed by the addition of the suffix *-jov* to the verbal root, or frequently to the participle in *-do*, *-lo*, or *-no*, used as a new theme. The past tense employs the participle in *-ilo*. In our dialect the present passive contracts as a rule.¹ In the following paradigm will be found first the forms given by Miklosich for Rumanian Romani, followed by examples drawn from our material. The difference in the third person singular of the past tense should be observed; our dialect uses the participle where Miklosich gives *kárdiljas*.

Passive according to Miklosich:—

	PRESENT	PAST
S. 1.	<i>kárdjovav</i>	<i>kárdiljom</i>
2.	<i>kárdjoves</i>	<i>kárdiljan</i>
3.	<i>kárdjovel</i>	<i>kárdiljas</i>
Pl. 1.	<i>kárdjoras</i>	<i>kárdiljam</i>
2.	<i>kárdjoven</i>	<i>kárdiljan</i>
3.	<i>kárdjoven</i>	<i>kárdile</i>

¹ So also in the Active Voice *thov*- 'to put' makes *thola*, *thol*; *thona*, *tona*, *tuna*, for *thovela* and *thovena* respectively.

Nomad Coppersmith passive :—

	PRESENT	PAST
S.		
1.	<i>najuvaŭ</i>	<i>najilem</i>
2.	<i>hatšjovesa, bušos</i>	<i>sikilan, šutilan, boldilan</i>
3.	<i>haljovela, bušol, bar- jovel, bandjola, tasjol, kerdel</i>	<i>šutilo, kerdilo, ašilo, barilo</i>
Pl.		
1.	...	...
2.	...	...
3.	<i>tasjon</i>	<i>šutile, barile</i>

All the above are from consonant or -j stems. Of causatives in -av only the third persons singular and plural of the past tense, *darajlo* (for *daranilo*) and *arekádile* (for *arakhavdile*) are recorded: and from stems in -sar only first person singular past *zajlisajlim*, and the third person of the same tense *χasajlo* (for *χasardilo*).

The active is used for the passive in *mekel* 'it is allowed.' So probably *meklao* in Text v. (c) stands for *meklas* used in a passive sense.

Imperative.—The bare root serves for an imperative: *mang* 'beg!', *beš* 'sit!', *de* (also *da*) 'give!'. Unusual forms are: *kara* (beside *ker*) 'make!', *pašo* 'approach!', *beša* 'sit!', *moto* 'talk!' *Dava* once has *adé* 'give!'. *Lava* has *alé* 'take!'.

To the imperative may be added the particle -ba, or -ta: *le-ba* 'take!', *av-ta*, *av-da* 'come!'.

Notes.—The third person plural of the past is always taken from the participle. This participle is often used for the third person of the singular, *avilo*, *ašilo*. *Džava* always employs the participle for the third person of both singular and plural of the past tense, and generally the emphatic particle -tar is added, expressive of completed action: *geló-tar* 'he went,' *gelí-tar* 'she went.'

The termination of the first person of the present singular is sometimes contracted to -o: *puterdo*, *ženo* (*džanaŭ*), *phagero*, *šudo*.

A few verbs have beside the correct present one wrongly formed by inference from the participle: *puterdaŭ*, *puterdo*, *kiradav*, *makliav*, *raklav* (cf. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 225).

§ 7. PREPOSITIONS.—I give a list of the prepositions with a few

comments. Most of them are, in origin, adverbs. For their use with noun-cases see the syntax.

and, to, into. With the article *ando*, *andi*, *ande*. This is in origin the same word as *andre*, *andra* 'within.'

anda, from. For *andal*, *andral* (Mik. xii. 16). After *rov* 'weep,' *anda* signifies 'for': *rovelas anda pesko do raklore* 'he was weeping for his two sons,' *rovela anda šavo* 'he weeps for the boy.' Compare Sztojka's version of the *Ave Maria*: *rudjisar le Devles anda amende* 'pray God for us,' and Mik. *Beiträge*, iv. 13, *anda laks duj jakha muklem munra čora da* 'for her two eyes I left my poor mother.' *Anda mui* and *anda moste* are used adverbially for 'aloud.'

angle, *angla*, in front.

avri, *are*, out. *Avri ando London* 'outside London.'

bi, without. A prefix employed like the Greek *a* privative.

de, from. A Rumanian loan-word. *De mult* 'since,' *de anda* 'from.' Compare *sode* 'how much?', *sode tšaso?* 'what is the time?'

kátar, from. *Kátar* means 'hence.' Miklosich ii. 22, ix. 21, gives *kátar* 'hence,' and *katár* 'from.' The usage of our dialect, however, is beyond doubt.

ka, to, at. With the article *ko*, *ke*, *k'zl*, *kai*.

maškar, among, between.

opre, up, upon, on. *Opral*, from above.

pala, after.

paša, near, beside.

po, distributive before numerals.

pe, at, on, in. A Rumanian loan-word. With the article *po*, *pe*, *pel*, *pai*.

talaj, under. *Telal*, from under.

§ 8. ADVERBS, CONJUNCTIONS, INTERJECTIONS.—*Adverbs*.—I find six examples of adverbs formed from adjectives with the suffix *-es*: *džungales* 'in a dirty manner,' *lokes* 'slowly,' *Romanes* 'in the Gypsy tongue,' *tšatšes* 'truly,' 'yes,' *zoraless* 'severely,' *žulanes* 'womanlike.' There are a number of adverbs borrowed from Rumanian: e.g. *rano* 'early,' *fuga* 'quickly,' *apoj* 'then,' *atuntši* 'then,' *desara* 'this evening.' Hungarian supplies *χiba* 'in vain.'

There are two instances of *drom* 'way' being used adverbially: *delarena pengo drom khere* 'they set off on their way

home,' *zas amenge drom ke London* 'let us away to London.' Somewhat similar is the phrase in Mik., *Beiträge*, iv. 3, *gêle jek dugo drom* 'they went a long way.' Compare also Mr. Gilliat-Smith's St. Luke v. 33, *but drom* 'many times.'

Baro 'great' is used adverbially in *me sim baro nasvalo* 'I am mighty ill,' *baro nasvalo pelim* 'I fell seriously ill,' *mang baro* 'beg hard!' Paspatis (p. 412) has *paro* 'heavy' used in the same way.

A complete list of the adverbs would serve no useful purpose here; they are all in the vocabulary. But I add a list of phrases composed of verb and adverb which have similar functions to verbs with prefixed prepositions in other languages. The references are to the texts.

dava anda 'to disburse.' I. (b).

dava andre 'to enter.' III. (a). Compare *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 230.

dava ando 'to enter.' III. (a).

tszrdava opre 'to pull on, don.' III. (a).

ankljava are 'to escape.' III. (a). Glossed *dava avri*.

Conjunctions.—Except in the compound numerals (§ 4) I can deduce no rule regulating the choice of conjunction. For 'and' the Gypsies seem to use indiscriminately *haj*, *thaj*, *ta*, *aj*, *a*, *kaj*, *u*, *o*. The most frequently used is *haj*. *Haj o* contracts to *ho* in rapid speech. Similarly *havo* for *haj avo*.

Haj appears to be used somewhat in the sense of 'but' in the phrase *haj tu sanas amaro Rom* 'but you were our Romany Rye' (Text v. (b) 18).

Interjections.—These are few in number: *aks* 'lo here!', *ime* 'lo!', *hajde* 'come now!', *bre* 'ugh!', *aj*, *oj* 'ah!', 'oh!', 'alas!'.

IV.—SYNTAX

In what must be, in the nature of the case, an incomplete sketch of the dialect, matters which strictly belong to syntax can very well be mentioned, *currente calamo*, while detailing the accident; but there remain some facts which it is convenient to group together under this heading.

§ 1. IRREGULARITIES IN GENDER.—The Nomad Gypsy Copper-smiths are no more immune than the best of us from occasional lapses into bad grammar. Thus we find *o rat* 'the night,' and *o bul*. I find a similar looseness of gender in Sztojka.

§ 2. THE USE OF CASES.—*The nominative* extends considerably beyond the limits to which the classical languages have taught us to confine that term. It is used for the subject and also for the object even where a proper accusative exists. It can follow the prepositions *ka, pe, katar, angla, andra, anda, pala*.

The accusative expresses the object of a transitive verb. When without the preposition *katar* 'from,' *puš-* may take the accusative: *pušel le dileš* 'he asks the fool.' Similarly the accusative of personal pronouns is often used for the dative of the remote object (see Accidence, § 5).

The prepositional is used after *ži, paša, anda, pala, pe*. The three last occasionally taking the nominative. The prepositional is also used after verbs of motion to express the direction or goal. *Avel leste* 'comes to him,' *džasa šaladendi* 'you will go to the soldiers.' *Našava le bare vešenga* 'I will escape to the great forests,' is probably faulty grammar, with dative instead of prepositional.

It also expresses the person on whose behalf something is done: *tšin mandi* 'buy for me.' When there is no special locative the prepositional supplies its place: *katsnende* 'in the tents,' *me dav tu bulende*. Compare also *bešlo o Frankoj trin ratja amende* 'Frank stayed three nights at our place.'

Seemingly the prepositional can take the place of the genitival adjective: *mortši busniati* 'goat's skin,' *dadestši piramni* 'father's mistress,' *pestji voja* 'their will,' *mui le(s)tji* 'his face,' *fatsa la puviajte* 'the face of the earth.' About this, however, there is an element of uncertainty, for all of these may simply be examples of the interchange between *k* and *t* so frequently met with in Romani. Further evidence from other dialects is desirable in addition to what Miklosich (v. 5) says of the dialect of Bukowina.

The dative expresses the remote object after verbs of giving, bringing, wishing, saying: *kodoleske dela* 'he will give to that one,' *nais tuke* 'thanks to thee,' *o Freštik phendjas tukš, but sastimos e savorenge le kompaniake* 'Freštik said to thee, much health to all the company.'

The ethical dative also occurs: *te kina mange* 'to buy me,' *te ža(s) 'menge* 'that we go.' *Avilem amende* 'we came' is a mistake. The dative also means 'for,' 'on behalf of': *tšaveske* 'for the lad,' *kaski suves?* 'for whom are you sewing?', *kerdilo leski* 'made for him.'

The Ablative expresses the source of a thing: *ašundjam*

lendar 'we heard from them'; the agent or cause: *meraŭ me bokhatar* 'I shall die of hunger,' *me daraŭ païestar* 'I am afraid of water,' *phandavel lakri bul le balvaliatar*, said of a woman whose skirts were blown between her legs.

The *instrumental* expresses the instrument: *χasa šuriasa* 'we eat with a knife,' *kanentsa ašunel* 'he listens with his ears.' This case is also associative, used after verbs of going, walking, remaining, coming, speaking: *aš Devlesa* 'remain with God,' 'farewell,' *ža Devlesa* 'go with God' (dismissing a parting guest), *dav duma tusa* 'I will talk with you.' Compare also *šorensa po mui* 'with a beard on his face,' *pogrebo la moliasa la phuriasa* 'cellar with the old wine.'

§ 3. The epithet frequently follows its substantive, and if definite the article is repeated. An accompanying preposition is sometimes repeated with the epithet, and sometimes not. For example: *jek bal kalo* 'a black hair,' *o phral o dilo* 'the foolish brother,' *ko birto o baro* 'to the big tavern,' *pe mol e loli* 'in the red wine,' *ka raj ko baro* 'to the policeman.' The same thing occurs in Constantinescu, e.g. Tale IX., *ek rakló cioró*.

§ 4. THE FUTURE.—This is expressed by using the full termination of the present or by prefixing *kam*, *ka* (from *kamava*) to the present, but the short termination of the present may be used where there is no ambiguity. For example: *javesa* 'you will become,' *kam-kerela* 'he will do,' *waj k'avela* 'will he come?' *tši džanaŭ laŭ les vej niš* 'I don't know whether I shall get it or not.'

§ 5. NOTES ON VERBS.—'To become' is expressed by *av-* 'to come': *javesa glavno χalavdo* 'you will become a general.' The Coppersmiths also use *av-* for 'to be about to': *avo te kero* 'I am going to make.'

'To have' is expressed periphrastically with the substantive verb and the accusative used instead of the dative: *si man sivo graj* 'I have a grey horse.'

The place of the infinitive is supplied by the present following *te*, thus *makle le tš tasjon* 'left them to drown.' Sometimes *te* is omitted, e.g. *džal arakhel* 'he goes to find.'

A periphrastic passive occurs: *kaj si kerde sar ambrol* 'which is made like a pear,' *so si ghramisardo urdé?* 'what is written there?' Compare *kaj sa nasto Zogar?* 'where had Zogar gone?'

Noteworthy as instances of crasis are *džan* for *dža an*: *džan*

mangi rašaj 'go fetch me a priest,' *katar me džanav?* 'whence shall I go fetch?' So also *džangares* for *dža angares* 'go fetch!'

Impersonal Verbs.—*Ašti, šaj* 'it is possible,' *dašti, našti* 'it is impossible,' *trebul* 'it is necessary,' *ambori* 'it is doubtful,' *mus, musa* 'must.' Compare also *gendi me* 'I think,' beside *gendisaraš*.

These impersonal verbs are generally, though not always, followed by *te*: *šaj te keren les*, beside *šaj keren les*.

Questions and Answers.—Questions are usually expressed by the tone of the voice, but may be introduced by *vaj* 'whether.' The answer is made either by repeating the main verb of the question: *keres?* 'do you do it?' *keraš* 'I do,' or by using *tšatšes* 'yes,' *nitši* 'no,' *khantši* 'not at all.'

§ 6. NEGATIVE SENTENCES.—In main clauses the negative is *tši*. I believe *ma* has been retained in one expression, *mažúkar* 'don't stop,' heard from some of the second group when a pause was made during the relation of a tale. In dependent clauses *na* is the proper negative, but *tši* is found once, probably a case of bad grammar: *de man variso: te tši desa, meraš me bokhatar* 'give me something: if you do not give I shall die of hunger.' Conversely one finds *na* in main clauses at times.

A negative is sometimes duplicated unnecessarily, e.g. *tši vorba anda mui tši motola* 'not a word does he utter aloud.'

The Formula of Conclusion of Tales.—This assumes the following forms: *Haj ma naj khantš, haj maj na khantš, haj me naj khantš, thaj ma naj khantš, haj ma ne khantš, ma naj khantš, gata*.

§ 7. PERSONAL NAMES.—The Christian name is used either with or without a patronymic. Generally the latter is put in the adjectival genitive. Thus *Wóršo Kokoiésko*, Wóršo son of Kokói; *Wóršo Miχajésko*, Wóršo son of Miχail; *Vórža Grantšáski*, Vórža daughter of Grantša. Occasionally the patronymic stands in the nominative in apposition to the Christian name, as *Dodói Mórkoš* for *Dodói Morkósko*. There is besides a general family name added in an undeclined form: *Wóršo Tšóron, Lázo Deméter*. Probably then the full name would be expressed after this manner: *Wóršo Miχajésko Tšóron*. This provides a basis for the investigation of names given through the medium of other languages than Romani.

Thus in Bataillard's papers, under date 1878, I find an old man 'Tchoucoro (*Demeter Michel*),' his daughter 'Cocha (aussi *Demeter Michel*),' and her brother 'Djorjei (*George Michel*).' Allowing for the usual Hungarian inversion in this case, one may surmise that these names in Romani would be *Tšukoro Miχajesko Demeter*, *Koša Miχajeski Demeter*, and *Džordži Miχajesko Demeter*. Where, however, only two names are given there is some uncertainty. In September 1872 Bataillard met similar Gypsies to ours in Paris, and recorded among others the names *Joseph Taïcoun* and *Ferentz Bourta*. Now we happen to know that *Taïcoun* or *Tojkun* is a general name, like *Tšóron* and *Deméter*, but *Bourta* may be a patronymic representing *Burtásko*, or more probably *Burdásko*. Furthermore, the distinction between *Romano anav* and *gadžikano anav* is by no means clear. *Andréas*, brother of the chief *Nikóla*, is also known as *Fárdi*; probably the former is the *gadžikano anav*, but I know no criterion by which to judge. Certainly alternative names abound, and one is on familiar ground when in Bataillard's notes one finds *George Demeter* passing under the name of *Mocha Ferentz*, with brothers *Ferentz Grantza* and *Ferentz Bourta*, with their father *Adam Ferentz*. Allowing for Hungarian inversion and the absence of inflection, the most logical reduction of these names seems to be *Ferentz Adamosko Demeter*, father of the three sons *Džordži Ferentzesko Demeter* (nickname *Moša*), *Grantša Ferentzesko Demeter*, and *Burta Ferentzesko Demeter*. However, the elucidation of names recorded forty years ago by Bataillard is outside my present purpose.

The following inconclusive notes on some of the names used by our friends will suffice to indicate a field of useful investigation. It would serve no purpose to give here a complete list, which the diligent reader may collect for himself from the pedigrees and from the indexes to this and the preceding volumes of the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*.

Names of Men.

Andréas (Andrew). Correlated by the Gypsies with *Fárdi*, *q.v.* Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 116. In *J. G. L. S.*, vi. 62, the *Romano anav* of Andrew Toikun in Denmark is given as *Zurka*.

Anton, *António* (Anthony). Cf. Paspatis 630, *Antónis*; and *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 237, *Anton Fejer* in Denmark.

Balóka. Perhaps from Hungarian¹ *Balázska*, diminutive of *Balázs* (Blaise).

Bándi. Perhaps the same as *Boundi*, recorded in 1872 by Bataillard.

Búrda. Cf. *Ferentz Bourta*, recorded in 1872 by Bataillard.

Djúri (Georgie). Hungarian *Gyuri*, diminutive of *György*.

Džórdži, *Džúrdži* (George). Hungarian *György*, Servian *Gjorgji*.

Fánaz. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 157, *Vanis*, and see New Series, v. 170 (footnote).

Fárdi. Correlated by our Gypsies with *Andréas*. Sztojka uses it regularly for *Ferentz*, i.e. Francis. Perhaps we may compare Slovenian *Ferdo* (Ferdinand).

Frankój, *Frínka* (Francis). Correlated by the Gypsies with François. Cf. Paspati 631, *Franghú* (fem.).

Frúnška. Given as a correlative of Frederick after some hesitation. See further under *Stívo*.

Gúnia. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 181, *Gina*.

Jánko (John). Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 58, *Yank*.

János (John). One expects *Jánoš*, if it is from the Hungarian *Janos*. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 17, *Janoš*. Bataillard met a *Janosch Demeter* in Paris in 1871.

Jántši (Johnnie). Hungarian *Jancsi*. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 68, *Janci*.

Jítswan (Stephen). Hungarian *István*.

Jóno (Jonah?). Russian *Ióna*.

Jórgolo. Cf. Paspati 630, *Yórghi*; 631, *Yorghúlu* (fem.).

Jóška (Joseph?). Slovenian *Jozko*, Servian *Joško* (Joseph). Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 237, *Joska Dodor*; v. 17, *Joška*. Bataillard recorded a *Iochka* in 1878.

Kokói. Cf. Paspati 631, *Gúgo*. But see *J. G. L. S.*, vi. 258, f.n.

Kóla, *Nikóla* (Nicholas). *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 113, *Búšel Kála* read *bušol* 'he is named,' a verb, not a proper name.

Lázo (Lazarus? Lewis?). Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 169, *Lazar*. Paspati 630, *Lázari*. Or it may be from Hungarian *Lajos*, but I am doubtful. The Hungarian diminutive *Lajcsi* gives us (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 113), *Láijī*, and (v. 16) *Laitši*.

Lóla. Possibly the same as *Lólo*. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 113, *Lóla Yóya*.

¹ Probably few of my readers are acquainted with Hungarian. Those who are will forgive me for providing the following equivalents. Hungarian *s* = *š*; *sz* = *s*; *cs* = *tš*; *z* = *ž*; *cz* = *ts*; and *gy* = *dj*.

- Lólo* (red). A nickname given to *Wóršo Kósmín*. With the Tojkun family in Denmark it is used as a girl's name; see *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 239. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 81, *Lolly Lally*. Paspati 631, *Lióli*.
- Matěj* (Matthew). Hungarian *Máté*. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 123, *Matteo*.
- Míχail*, *Míχaj*, *Miloš* (Michael). Hungarian *Mihaly*; Russian *Míχail*. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 160, *Michale* (fem.); New Series, iv. 238, *Milosch Chomann*.
- Milánko*. Probably a diminutive of Servian and Croatian *Milan* (Emil). Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, iii. 38, *Milo*; New Series, ii. 140, *Milan Monavitz*.
- Mórkoš*, *Mórkon*, *Mórko*. Perhaps the same as *Morkoi*, *J. G. L. S.*, v. 236. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 226, *Murko*.
- Párvolo* (Paul?). Probably not from *barvalo* 'rich.' The female name *Pavléna* (q.v.) was once given in the form *Parvolína*. Cf. Paspati 630, *Pálavo*.
- Stivo*. Given as a correlative of Frederick! I doubt its being the same as Stephen (see *Jišwan*). Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 140, *Steve John*.
- Tódi*. Cf. Paspati 631, *Tódís*. Possibly short for *Todor*.
- Tódor*, *Tódoro* (Theodore). Hungarian *Tódor*, Servian *Todor*.
- Tóma* (Thomas). Servian *Tomo*. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 117, *Tomas*.
- Tsukúro* (sugar?). Cf. Bataillard's notes in 1872, *Tchoucoro* translated by the boy's father, George Gomann, as 'sucre.' In 1878 Bataillard recorded *Tchoucoro* (*Demeter Michel*), and *Jovano Zourka Maestori*. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 174, *Sugar*; iii. 158, *Shuggurn*; New Series, v. 17, *Tšurka*; 18, *Zukro*; vi. 62, *Zurka*, given as the *Romano anav* of Andrew Tojkun in Denmark. Paspati 630, *Tchúka*. Cf. in my vocabulary, *šogoro* 'brother-in-law.'
- Tšujéko*. Probably a genitive patronymic for *Tšajesko*. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 17, *Tšaia* (fem.); v. 18, *Šajo*. Bataillard has *Gomoli Tchaico* perhaps for *Gomo le Tšajko*.
- Wóršo*. This exceedingly common name is an *alias* for *Vasili*, and for other names as well.
- Wajtšúlo*, *Watšúlo* (Basil?). Hungarian *Vazul*.
- Vána*, *Vájnia*, *Vánia* (Johnnie). Russian *Vánja*.
- Vasili*, *Vasílio* (Basil). Cf. Paspati, 630, *Vasili*.

Names of Women.

- Anúška* (Annie). Russian *Annuska*. Cf. Paspati 631, *Anésto*.
Báptši. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 12, *Baptist*; ii. 292, *Baptista*; iii. 160, *Battista*.
Bínka. Perhaps the feminine of Slovenian *Vínko* (Vincent), or *Benko* (Benedict).
Díka. In *J. G. L. S.*, vi. 63, this name is correlated with Katherine.
Dojklítsa. Perhaps Slovenian *dojka* 'nurse.' Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 68, *Dorka*.
Kakariádska (? magpie). Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 72, *Kakahaška Flusko-vitzu*, where the second element seems to contain the Rumanian *vitza*, 'stem,' 'stock,' 'family.' Paspati 631, *Kakátcha* and *Kerátcha*.
Katín (Catherine). Hungarian *Kati*. Cf. Paspati 631, *Katingo*.
Líza (Elizabeth). Russian *Líza*.
Lolódži (flower). See this word in the vocabulary. Cf. Paspati 631, *Luludíd*.
Lótka, Lútka (Charlotte?). One might, however, compare Hungarian *Lucza* (Lucy).
Lúba (love). Russian *Ljubóffj*, Servian *Ljuba*. Besides being a personal name *Luba* seems to be used as a term of endearment by one woman to another, as in Servian.
Malíka (Amelia?). Perhaps Hungarian *Máli* diminutive of *Amália*; Paspati 631, *Maríca* and *Maríka*.
Mára (Mary). Slovenian *Mara*. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 200, *Mandra*; Paspati 631, *María*.
Nína (Ann). Hungarian *Nina*. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 145, *Nínu* (male); Paspati 631, *Níni*.
Parašíva (Prascovia). Russian *Paraskéva*. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 133, *Paraskina*; Paspati 631, *Paraskevú*.
Parvóltina, Pavléna (Pauline). Russian *Pavlina*. Cf. Paspati 631, *Pulína*.
Rajída. The termination *-ída* is common among diminutives of Russian female names, e.g. *Aglaída* from *Aglaia*. Hence *Rajída* may be a Slavonic diminutive of the name *Ráï*, which I take to be simply the Romani *rai* (*rani*) 'lady.'
Saltska. Perhaps from Romani *salí* 'wife's sister.'
Savéta. In 1878 Bataillard recorded the name of an old man as *Poursa Wéta*. If he mistook the person, this might well be

Phuri Saveta 'old Saveta.' I find, however, in *J. G. L. S.*, v. 236, *Purtsa Viška* as the name of a member of a band in Sweden.

Tékla (Thecla).

Térika, Térka (Theresia). Thérèse was given to Bataillard as the correlative of this name.

Tínka. This I take to be from some such diminutive as *Kátinka* (Kitty). Cf. Slovenian *Dinka* for *Leopoldína*.

Wórža, Vúrža (Lizzie). This looks like a feminine counterpart of *Wóršo*, but from *Sztojka* it appears to be formed from the Hungarian *Erzsi*, diminutive of *Erzsébet* (Elizabeth). Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 17, *Vorsa*.

Žófi (Sophia). Hungarian *Zsófia*.

(To be continued)

NOTES AND QUERIES

10.—QUEEN VICTORIA AND THE GYPSIES

In *The Girlhood of Queen Victoria: A Selection from Her Majesty's Diaries between the Years 1832 and 1840*, published by authority of His Majesty the King, and edited by Viscount Esher, G.C.B., G.C.V.O. (London, 1912), there are interesting references which illustrate Her Majesty's sympathy with Gypsies:—

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CLAREMONT, *Saturday 24th December (Xmas Eve)* [1836]. '... No one was stirring about the Gipsy encampment except George, which I was sorry for, as I was anxious to know how our poor friends were after this bitterly cold night.'

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Sunday, 25th December (Xmas Day). 'As we were approaching the camp, we met Rea coming from it, who had been sent there by Mamma to enquire into the story of these poor wanderers. He told us (what I was quite sure of before) that all was quite true, that the poor young woman and baby were doing very well, though very weak and miserable and that what they wanted chiefly was fuel and nourishment. Mamma has ordered broth and fuel to be sent tonight, as also 2 blankets; and several of our people have sent old flannel things for them. Mamma has ordered that the broth and fuel is to be sent each day till the woman is recovered. Lehzen sent them by our footmen a little worsted knit jacket for the poor baby, and when we drove by, Aunt Sarah,¹ the old woman and the Husband all looked out and bowed most gratefully. Rea gave them directly a sovereign. I cannot say how happy I am that these poor creatures are assisted, for they are such a nice set of Gypsies, so quiet, so affectionate to one another, so discreet, not at all forward or importunate, and so grateful; so unlike the gossiping fortune-telling race-gypsies; and this is such a peculiar and touching case. Their being assisted makes me quite merry and happy today, for yesterday night when

¹ One of the gypsies.

I was safe and happy at home in that cold night, and today when it snowed so and everything looked white, I felt quite unhappy and grieved to think that our poor gipsy friends should perish and shiver for want; and now today I shall go to bed happy, knowing they are better off and more comfortable. . . .'

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29th December [1836]. 'I saw Aunt Sarah and the least pretty of the two sisters-in-law, who has returned, in a shop at Esher. How I do wish I could do something for their *spiritual* and *mental* benefit and for the education of their children and in particular for the poor little baby who I have known since its birth, in the admirable manner Mr. Crabbe in his *Gipsies' Advocate* so strongly urges; he beseeches and urges those who have kind hearts and Christian feelings to think of these poor wanderers, who have many good qualities and who have many good people amongst them. He says, and alas! I too well know its truth, from experience, that whenever any poor Gypsies are encamped anywhere and crimes and robberies &c. occur, it is invariably laid to their account, which is shocking; and if they are always looked upon as vagabonds, how can they become good people? I trust in Heaven that the day may come when I may do something for these poor people, and for this particular family! I am sure that the little kindness which they have experienced from us will have a good and lasting effect on them! . . .'

Opposite p. 182 is a plate 'Gypsy Women. From a sketch by Princess Victoria.'

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8th January [1837]. 'The service was performed by the Dean, who gave us likewise a sermon. The text was from the 1st Chapter of Isaiah, —verse :—"Wash you, make you clean." At 12 dear Lehzen and I went out and came home at 10 minutes p. 1. It is today a week that we took leave of our poor good friends the Gypsies, and I am quite sorry when I pass the spot so long enlivened by their little camp, and behold it empty and deserted, and with almost no trace to be seen of their ever having been there. They had been there more than a month, for they encamped there about 5 days after we arrived here and have been there ever since until last Wednesday or Thursday. To my feeling, the chief ornament of the Portsmouth Road is gone since their departure. But this is their life; they are happy and grateful, and we have done them some good. The place and spot may be forgotten, but the Gypsy family Cooper will never be obliterated from my memory! . . .'

11.—A GYPSY FROM FLAUBERT

I have found, in Flaubert's *La Légende de S. Julien de l'Hospitalier*, a curious page :—

'Les convives s'en allèrent au petit jour; et le père de Julien se trouvait en dehors de la poterne, où il venait de reconduire le dernier, quand tout à coup un mendiant se dressa devant lui, dans le brouillard. C'était un Bohême à barbe tressée, avec des anneaux d'argent aux deux bras et les prunelles flamboyantes. Il bégaya d'un air inspiré ces mots sans suite :

"Ah! ah! bon fils! . . . beaucoup de sang! . . . beaucoup de gloire! . . . toujours heureux! la famille d'un empereur."

'Et, se baissant pour ramasser son aumône, il se perdit dans l'herbe, s'évanouit.'

He is the bringer of fortune and of disaster; and, later, before the fatal moment, the father 'tressaillit, se rappelant la prédiction du Bohême.'

ARTHUR SYMONS.

12.—THE INDIAN GIPSY

'The Indian Gipsy,' from Sarojini Naidu's *The Golden Threshold*, was written by an Indian girl of an ancient family, whom I knew in 1896 when she was seventeen. She was as wise as she was young; and there is almost an equal imagination in her letters to me as in her splendid verses.

ARTHUR SYMONS.

THE INDIAN GIPSY

In tattered robes that hoard a glittering trace
Of bygone colours, broidered to the knee,
Behold her, daughter of a wandering race,
Tameless, with the bold falcon's agile grace,
And the lithe tiger's sinuous majesty.

With frugal skill her simple wants she tends,
She folds her tawny heifers and her sheep
On lonely meadows when the daylight ends,
Ere the quick night upon her flock descends
Like a black panther from the caves of sleep.

Time's river winds in foaming centuries
Its changing, swift, irrevocable course
To far off and incalculable seas;
She is twin-born with primal mysteries,
And drinks of life at Time's forgotten source.

13.—NEW FOREST WORDS

Note 30 (*J. G. L. S.*, vi. 147) carries one back to a time, years gone by, when, reclining in a long arm-chair behind the screen of *khas-khas* kept constantly wet to cool the fiery blast that blows over Central India in the month of May, I read in one of Borrow's works of the old sergeant from India who explains that *kolloes* and *lolloes* mean blacks and reds. It was probably a soldier who had served in India who was Miss Gillington's informant in the New Forest, for amongst her words there are six which are evidently Hindustānī, and such as Tommy would pick up from the native cook. Tommy makes the few words he learns go as far as possible by interlarding them with English; and thus these six words would be phonetically used somewhat as follows:—'Hi! *bobbyjee* (for *bāwarchī*, "cook")! bring a *burten*, 'n a *kunta*, 'n a *peeyāla*, 'n a *chumchā*! Look slippery! 'r I'll put s'm bloomin' *jildy* 'nt'y' 'z y' won't like, so you'd better *jildy kurro* sharp!'

The italicised rough vernacular Hindustānī words *burten*, *kunta*, *peeyāla*, *chumchā* and *jildy* have the same English meaning as the like words in Miss Gillington's Note, viz.:—plate, fork, basin, spoon, and quick. And, although *kurro* does not literally mean 'walk,' it is quite legitimate to use it in that sense, as it is derived from *karnā* (to do); hence it may be used for any action, the actual word 'walk' being dropped just as in English when we say 'be,' 'do be' (quick), as variants of 'walk quickly,' 'make haste,' 'hurry up.'

Sibsi, *sibse*, for juniper bush and furze bush, seems to be what the soldier in India usually pronounces *subzy* (though a few might easily make it *sibzy*), which is the correct pronunciation of the Persian word *sabzī* = 'greens,' 'culinary vegetables,' and in a more extended sense any kind of verdure, the opposite of desert, so that bushes would be included. The soldier is supplied with potatoes and

onions, but cabbages, cauliflowers, lettuce, etc., he must buy himself. These are all included under the general name *sabzi*.

But the mere fact that these are all such common Indian names as an English soldier who had been in India would be likely to know and use is not proof positive that they (or some of them) are not also good Romany. A soldier may have been in India some years, but if these were spent in S. India he might not hear one of them, as Hindustani is little spoken there. At anyrate we cannot credit him with having introduced any of them into Spain! Yet *bartan* is used there, and evidently by Gypsies, because on p. 56 of vol. xvi. of the *Indian Antiquary* (1887), Murray Aynsley writes that he was told by an English officer of long service in India that in '84 he went on a long walking tour in Murcia, and noticed the similarity of the dancing of the Spanish and Indian girls; he also found certain Hindustani words in use in that part of the country, such as *bartan* for 'plate.' As neither writer nor informant mentions anything about Gypsies they probably never heard of the Indo-Gypsy affinity; so these similarities of dancing and speech are merely given casually as curiosities. The writer adds, 'This must be a local word, as I am unable to find it in the Spanish dictionaries,' which is not surprising, as the conjunction of 'dancing girls' and 'Hindustani words' pretty clearly shows that the officer heard them from Spanish Gypsies.¹ And if it be Spanish Gypsy, then why not English Gypsy? It cannot yet be said that every English Gypsy word has been recorded. Having searched in vain for the word in Borrow, Grellmann, Mrs. Grierson, Harriott, Hoyland, Leland, Miklosich, Paspati, Smart and Crofton, and Hubert Smith, it seems pretty safe to congratulate Miss Gillington on a 'find' of at least one hitherto unrecorded 'deep' Romani word.

J. LOCKYER.

14.—THE FAAS AT SCALLOWAY, 1612

I am indebted to my friend the Rev. Thomas Matthewson, Rhynie, Aberdeenshire, for pointing out to me that Chap. xiii. of P. W. Greig's *Annals of a Shetland Parish, Delting*, Lerwick, 1892, gives a somewhat fuller account of the murder by the Faas at Garth than is given in Tudor, from whom MacRitchie quotes in his *Scottish Gypsies under the Stewarts*. The following paragraphs from Greig's work are worth reprinting here:—

'It seems strange to be told that at so early a period in the history of these islands as 1612, a gang of wandering Egyptians should have been strolling about the country of Shetland, endeavouring to make a living by the practice of fortune-telling. Yet such was the case. Their strange manners, eastern costumes, and peculiar mode of life must have produced a strange effect among the unsophisticated and untravelled peasants as they wandered from place to place camping on the hill-sides, and remaining probably for days in a place; then striking their tents, shouldering their packs, and marching off to astonish the inhabitants of some other hamlet with their occult skill and legerdemain. The presence of a gang of beggars in Shetland was by no means an unusual sight in those days. An Act passed at this time states that there are "monie both outland and inland beggeris" who infested the islands, demanding wool, fish, and corn from the people. Many of them were able-bodied "masterful" beggars, and it may be conjectured that some of them were the broken followers of the wicked Earl Patrick. Others were likely natives of the islands, who had been mercilessly despoiled of their lands and goods, and driven to destitution and beggary, by the rapacious Stewart Earls. To punish the able-bodied "sorners," it was decreed that they should be deprived of

¹ *Bartan* does not, however, seem to be given in any of the ordinary vocabularies of Spanish Romany.

their plaids, "or uther thair upmaist claith," and handed over to the bailie of the parish to be punished in "the stocks and jogis as idill and vagabound persones."

'A band of Egyptians, numbering seven persons, two men and five women, in the course of their wanderings had encamped at Garth in the month of July 1612. How long they had been there history does not say; but on the morning of the 31st the people of the district became aware of a more than ordinary stir in the camp. Katherene Faw and Murdo Brown, her husband, had quarrelled, and in the heat of passion were "fighting it out," he with a sword, while she was armed with a knife. The battle was soon over, and Katherene stood possessed of the field, leaving her husband stabbed and bleeding to death on the ground. The affair created the most intense excitement in the district, and four of the gang were taken prisoners, Helen Faw and Barbara Faw being left at large.

'The law-courts were not long in moving in these days, for we find the accused parties put on their trial at Scalloway on the 18th day of August 1612. "The quhilk day, ane reverend father in God, James Bishop of Orkney, his Majesties Commissioner Shireffe and Justice within the bowndis of Orknay and Zetland, sittand in judgment," Mr. Harrie Aitken was chosen Clerk of Court; Thomas Young, officer; Gilbert Cantlie, adjudicator; and Robert Coltart, procurator-fiscal.

'After disposing of a good deal of other small cases, and passing some "Acts," the trial of the Egyptians came on, the complaint setting forth that John Faw, elder, called muckle John Faw; John Faw, younger, called little John Faw; Katherene Faw, spous to umquhill Murdo Brown; Agnew Faw, sister to the said little John Faw, were indicted and accusid for airt and pairt of the cruel and unmerciful slauchter of umquhill Murdo Brown, Egyptian, committit be thame upon the grund of the lands of Garth within the parochin of Delting, Lordship of Zetland and Sherifdom of Orknay, upon the last day of July last byepast." There were various other charges against little John included in the libel. The complaint ended as follows:—"And last they and everie one of thame were indytit and accusit of commoun theft and commoun pyckrie, and fur giving of thame selffis furth for sorcereris, givears of weirds, declarers of fortownis. And that they can help or hinder in the proffeit of the milk of bestiall." All the prisoners pled not guilty, and Mr. Coltart, the fiscal, desired that they should all be "put to the knowledge of an assyse," and that justice should be administered to them in terms of the complaint.

'Mr. Walter Ritchie, notar procurator, who appeared for the prisoners, contended that they should not "be put to the knowledge of an assyse," because it was not customary to adjudge Egyptians for slaughter among themselves. The Fiscal replied that wherever slaughter was committed, the perpetrator should be punished according to the laws of the country. After hearing the parties, the Judge repelled the defenders' allegation, and ordered the accused persons to be put on trial.

'This resolution having been come to, the Court set about electing an assyse, when the following gentlemen were appointed:—

Nicoll Sclaitter in Skallowaybankis.
 William Magnussone of Neip.
 Magnus Olasone of Ilsbruck.
 David Kaid in Skallowaybankis.
 Malcolme Mowat, ther.
 Magnus Cogill, in Papastour.
 Chanr. Berard Mowat in Collatirthe.
 David Foster, of Lunay.
 Jerome Nicolsone, in Caldcliff.
 Magnus Olasone, in Aithsness.
 John Magnussone, in Gramantwat.

Magnus Bult, fowd of Brassay.
 Magnus Smith, in Brassay.
 Henrie Wischart, in Burralland.
 Thomas Lentroun, skipper in Leith.

‘The gentlemen having been duly sworn, Berard Mowat was appointed “chan-celor,” and having heard Mr. Coltart, the Fiscal, the assyse found Katherene Faw alone guilty, and asked the judge to convict her “of the slawchter of her said umquhill husband the tyme foirsaid, and fand the remanant persones quyt and frie thairof.” After this declaration by the assyse, the Judge passed sentence of death on Katherene Faw which is recorded in the Court Records as follows:—
 “The Judge decernis and ordanis the said Katherene to be tane to the Bulwark and cassen over the same in the sey, to be drownit to the death, and dome given thairupone. And decernis the remanant persones to be quyt of the crymis aboue-written.”’

ALEX. RUSSELL.

15.—PICTURES OF HUNGARIAN GYPSIES

Hungary in Ancient, Medieval, and Modern Times, by Arminius Vambery with the collaboration of Louis Heilprin [The Story of the Nations Series], London, MDCCCLXXXVII, has nothing in the letterpress about Gypsies, but contains the following illustrations:—p. 401, ‘Gypsy Huts’; p. 403, ‘Old Gypsy Women’; p. 405, ‘Halt of Gypsies’; p. 419, ‘Gypsies and Lady’; p. 425, ‘Hungarian Gypsies.’

ALEX. RUSSELL.

29th August 1913.

16.—HUNGARIAN GYPSY MUSICIANS

Hungary: Its People, Places, and Politics, London, MCMVII, contains only one reference to Gypsies, a very brief account, at p. 37, of the Gypsy bands employed at the hotels.

ALEX. RUSSELL.

29th August 1913.

17.—MISS PARDOE'S ACCOUNT OF THE HUNGARIAN GYPSIES

‘Beyond this village [Glasshütte], on the border of a little wood, which after fringing with its bright foliage the banks of a mountain-stream, spreads in rich profusion over the precipitous side of the acclivity, we first encountered a colony of *Zigeuner*, or Hungarian gypsies, a race as utterly distinct from the other inhabitants of the country as though they were not children of the same soil.

‘Nothing can be more wretched than their appearance—the men scantily covered by a single garment of woollen cloth; the women veiled rather than clad in rags and patches; and the children without a covering of any kind. Like the gypsies of England, *Zigeuner* wander over the face of the land, voluntary outcasts. We had heard much of them, but as this was the only occasion in which we came upon one of their tribes during the whole of our journey, we had no opportunity of observing in what particulars they differed from those of our own country, save physically; and here there is assuredly a marked difference, for the *Zigeuner* of Hungary are a much darker race, being little removed from black; they are also remarkably low in stature, thin, but well-built; with sharp, restless, black eyes, teeth like ivory, and an outline of face inclining rather to that of the Jews. Their young women are slight and graceful; but their exposure to every variation of climate, and the extremity of filth amid which they live, wither them very soon, and in old age they are hideous and disgusting.

'According to the information which has been afforded to me by those well acquainted with the habits of this singular people, there are other distinctive points, however, which are more striking. They exist in a sort of social commonwealth, not recognizing marriage either as a sacrament or a ceremony; the women and children being considered as the wives and offspring of the tribe generally.

'The children wear no clothes until the age of ten or twelve years; and resemble imps rather than human beings as they run beside the carriage of the traveller shrieking for alms, with their long matted hair flying in the wind, and their black limbs shining in the light. They are extremely idle, passing whole weeks stretched in listless inaction, under the trees, without an effort at occupation, until fairly driven by hunger to exert themselves; they then, as in England, stroll from hamlet to hamlet, working as tinkers or blacksmiths, and telling fortunes, or playing on a rude kind of bagpipe, to which the mountaineers dance on days of festival; they also sometimes make hatchets, and swordsticks, which are bought by the serfs and cowherds.

'It has been ascertained that in 1417 upwards of sixty thousand of these vagabonds infested Hungary and Transylvania; and the census taken by command of the Emperor Joseph in 1783 gave a return of forty thousand in Hungary alone. This sovereign, as well as Maria Theresa herself, strenuously endeavoured to settle the wanderers both in Transylvania and the Banat, and held out many inducements to them to become good citizens, by appropriating lands to their use; but few of their numbers profited by the Imperial generosity; the mass preferring to continue their restless and vagabond lives.

'Instances have been known of a colony of *Zigeuners* building their miserable huts near a village, and even remaining there for several years; but they have always eventually disappeared suddenly, without giving the slightest warning of their intention; leaving nothing behind them but their miserable hovels, and the earthen vessels in which they had cooked their food.

'Leading a life of misrule among themselves, it will readily be understood that they are not very scrupulous towards others; but their vices rarely grow into crime; they are rogues on a small scale, delighting in petty villanies, and proud of overreaching the more civilized portions of the community: but they neither rob nor murder; nor is there anything to apprehend for the solitary traveller who intrudes into their haunts, save a request for tobacco, of which men, women, and children are alike inordinately fond, and which they use to excess when they can procure it; indeed, I was seriously assured that so great is their passion for this filthy weed, that their highest luxury is to collect the rank and oily substance which encrusts the bowls of their pipes, and which they devour most greedily; nor do they ever fail, when they encounter a stranger about to clean out his meerschaum to petition earnestly for this indulgence.

'When Bukovine was ceded to Austria in 1778, out of her seven thousand inhabitants one thousand were *Zigeuners*; but their number has greatly diminished of late years throughout the empire.'—*The City of the Magyar: or Hungary and her Institutions*, by Miss Pardoe. London, 1848 [New Edition], vol. i. pp. 166-70.

ALEX. RUSSELL.

29th August 1913.

18.—ROMANO GILI

1

'Ano Wescho gome tschaom i derno Tschawo meh dikom.
I barno Riben meh ridom,
Daisa Rati meh naschom,
Ada gar weil mes da Bati,
Weil mes Tschendi.

II

Tschaiomo o Wescho pre,
Is parte Sendi goi.
Is derno Tschawo goi bascherteslo Zitarra.
//:: Leomes lesker Zitarra, Stakertomles Ketteni. '://

III

Meh hom i Tschai voni bischdadui Bersch,
Meh brauchta gar ano Graba drin.
Tschaiomes banch mr tschorelo Date
Braucht dome gar ano Graba drin.

IV

Dikela wella goi da tschi chamaske da tschi
Bimaske.
Desmante desch bansch schel da genab man i schuker Romni.
Tschib da Schero ano Kilo.'

//:: da, da, da, da, da, u. s. f. :://

Dieses Lied habe ich von der Familie Weiss welche wenig in Deutschland reist dagegen hauptsächlich in Frankreich u. Italien. Auch in Österreich. Ich habe das Lied genau so aufgeschrieben wie ich es gehört habe, da es sicher ein Lied der deutschen Zigeuner ist, obwohl mir die Worte 'Ada' (Vers I.) u. 'Kilo' (Vers IV.) unverständlich sind. Für Ada konnte mir keine Erklärung gegeben werden, dagegen soll Kilo soviel als ein Kübel sein. Ausserdem habe ich gar nichts korrigiert u. alles, auch die direkt deutschen Worte gelassen. Ich denke es ist für die Mitglieder der G. L. S. interessanter so. E. WITTICH.

19.—ASIATIC GYPSIES AND YURUKS

In a paper entitled 'The Early Inhabitants of Western Europe,' by Prof. Felix v. Luschan in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. xli., are two sections of such interest for our study that they should be quoted here :—

'A small but highly interesting group is formed by the Gypsies and their kin. About 30,000 of them are said to infect Turkey with their disorder and inclination for theft and larceny. On the other side they are cheerful company, men and women, not seldom with a certain beauty.¹ They make baskets and sieves; the men are mostly blacksmiths and shrewd horsedealers. They are never settled in houses, but wander with their goat-hair tents, in winter-time on the plains, in summer high up in the mountains. I once met a small "village" of about ten gipsy-tents as high as 8,000 feet. Unhappily, nothing is known about their early migrations and history; they speak Turkish in Asia Minor, Arabic in Syria, and keep secret their own language with so much care that my various and repeated efforts to get at least a few phrases turned out a complete failure.'²

'In Northern Syria I met a kind of Gipsies calling themselves *Aptal*; they

¹ 'Cf. some types I published in Patersen and von Luschan, *Reisen in Lykien Milyas und Kibyratis*, Wien, C. Gerold's Sohn, 1889.'

² 'Henry Minor Huxley (*American Anthropologist*, vol. iv., 1902, p. 49) examined at Jerusalem a few Gipsies of Syria that spoke Arabic, "but among themselves fluently Gipsy. Many of their words have exactly the same forms as are found in Hindu Gipsy words." I do not know if this statement is confirmed by other explorers.' [It is of course amply borne out by Prof. R. A. Stewart Macalister's researches.—A. R.]

lay a certain stress upon their *not* being Gipsies, but I could find no real difference in their somatic qualities or in their ethnographic or social standing. Some of them often wander about like Dervishes in groups of four or five, and with a large red or green banner; others are jugglers and conjurors and play tricks with serpents.

'Gipsies never, or hardly ever, mix with other tribes in Syria or Asia Minor. They naturally pretend to be Mahometans and have Islamic names, but they are always treated with a certain contempt or disesteem. Mahometans hardly ever curse; but one of their rare abusive phrases is *tchingene*=gipsy' (pp. 226-7).

'Another nomadic tribe found in Asia Minor in far greater number than the Turkomans, is formed by the Yuruks. The word means "wanderer," and many misunderstandings are due to this ambiguity, as all sorts of "wanderers" have been described as Yuruks, just as settlers in South Africa sometimes speak of "Bushmen," not meaning the real Pygmy-Bushmen, but dark and tall Kafirs living "in the bush."

'I wrote upon the real Yuruks in the *Z. f. E.* 1886, xviii, *Verh.* p. 167 ff.; and may here refer to this paper and to the plates in *Reisen in Lykien*, etc., quoted here (p. 227, note 1).

'They are remarkable for the artificial deformation of their head and their generally long skulls. Their real home is not known. They speak Turkish, and up to the present no trace has been found of their original language. I once suggested that they might be in some distant way related with the Gipsies, with whom at least some of them have a decided and striking somatic resemblance; it then seemed to me possible that their high moral standard, their serious and decent ways, and their assiduity in work—their wives are famous carpet-makers—might be due to Islām.¹ But this was a mere suggestion, and it might well be that their resemblance to the Gipsies is only quite accidental. I hope that others may be more successful and find legends and traditions, remains of the old language or other material that would permit us to trace the Yuruks back to their real home.

'Meanwhile a sort of jealousy between them and the settled Mahometans excludes intermarriage almost without exception' (p. 228).

In *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, vol. iii. p. 186, Mr. MacRitchie quotes from an article by J. Theodore Bent, showing that there is in Asia Minor a tinker class distinct from the Yourocks and preying upon them.

ALEX. RUSSELL.

22nd Sept. 1913.

20.—JAPANESE GYPSIES

It is always assumed that the Gypsy migration from India was exclusively towards the west. The following letter, which we owe to the kind enthusiasm of our ex-President, Mr. MacRitchie, suggests that there may also have been an eastward exodus. Until the five tribes mentioned by Professor Sayce have been examined by a specialist, there will, however, be always a suspicion that Mr. Yanagida used 'Gypsy,' as it is used in India, as a synonym for wanderer.

8 Chalmers Crescent, Edinburgh,

Oct. 24, 1913.

Dear Mr. MacRitchie,—My information about the Japanese gipsies came from Mr. Yanagida (at Tokyo), who is the leading folk-lorist of Japan. He told me that the gipsies had a language of their own, and were divided into five tribes, the names of these being: (1) Tobúshi; (2) Sanka; (3) Oge; (4) Sebri; (5) Tamba.—Believe me to be, yours truly,

A. H. SAYCE.

¹ [Highly moral Gypsies of Asia Minor, whose women are spinners and weavers, are mentioned by Elysseeff, *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 250.—A. R.]

21.—BULGARIAN GYPSIES

In their book, *A Residence in Bulgaria* (London: John Murray, 1869), Captain S. G. B. St. Clair, late of the 21st Fusiliers, and Charles A. Brophy give some interesting information about Bulgarian Gypsies forty-five years ago. They lived apparently for many months, perhaps years, at Derekuoi, a Christian village of 60 houses and 350 souls, situated twelve miles from Varna. The principal account of their Gypsies is on pages 7-11:—

‘Our village lately possessed a kind of suburb, the *Chinguiné Mahalli* or Gypsy Quarter, which, however, was last June [1867] wantonly burned to the ground and its inhabitants turned adrift. These gipsies, following the usual custom of their people in conforming outwardly to the State Religion of the country in which they reside, profess Islamism, though they never enter a mosque, and otherwise observe but few of the precepts enjoined by the Koran; their women (like those of the Tartars) do not even wear the *yashmak*, the veil which should always screen Mahomedan female beauty or ugliness from the gaze of the too curious stranger.

‘Amongst themselves the gipsies speak Romany, as well as Turkish; their huts differ but little externally from those of the Bulgarian, except that they are usually smaller and have no verandah, but though they are perhaps more squalid in outward appearance, the interior offers a pleasing contrast to that of their Christian fellow subjects by its neatness and cleanliness.

‘Our *Chinguinés* exercised the universal gipsy trades of begging, basket-making, tinkering, and forging iron, to which the Bulgarians said that they added in an especial degree that of thieving, but this accusation is probably due in a great measure to the fact that two of a trade never agree, as in all our dealings with the gipsies we found them quite as honest (to say the least) as their Rayah neighbours. Every morning the gipsy women, furnished each with a big sack and a long stick to keep off the dogs, who seem to bear them an especial antipathy, start in couples upon an expedition to beg or buy flour and other food amongst the villagers, who occasionally gave it to them without payment, not from any motive of charity, but because they are to a certain extent afraid of them, having a deeply-rooted belief in their power to cast spells, cause rain, and other beneficent or maleficent attributes. The men remain at home mending pots and pans, tinning copper vessels, and doing all the iron work required by the village, whilst the children blow the bellows, or accompany the cattle to their pasturage.

‘Less nomadic than those of Western Europe, the Turkish gipsies seldom, however, settle in one village for more than three or four years, and the voluntary or forced migration of a tribe in search of fresh quarters is one of the most picturesque sights to be seen in Bulgaria. A long string of oxen, buffaloes, and horses (which we will hope have *not* been stolen), transports the tents and cooking utensils of the voyagers, as well as the very old men and young children, the former of whom are often magnificent models for a St. Jerome or St. John in Patmos, the latter, dusky monkey-like little imps naked as when they were born: by their side march the younger men and women clad in rags and tatters of every hue, and carrying in their arms infants, poultry, and new-born calves or colts. The gipsy women when young are often exceedingly beautiful, in the style generally considered in England as “Eastern,” with dark complexions and black almond-shaped eyes, but their beauty fades rapidly, and at thirty years they are already old, wrinkled, and hideous.

‘As soon as one of these processions halts in or near a village, tents are pitched, fires lighted, and foraging parties organised, whilst the Bulgarians, at the approach of their unwelcome visitors, keep a close watch upon their poultry, pigs, and other moveable goods, for though the *Chinguiné* may to a certain extent respect the property of the village in which he is settled, no scruples restrain him from profiting by any waifs and strays which may come in his way during a march.

'The life of the gipsy in Turkey is very much that of a Pariah : disliked and despised by the Turk, hated by the Christian, he yet earns his living by harder labour than that of the latter, whilst his only crime is petty larceny amongst a people with whom roguery is the rule, honesty the exception, and in villages where you will be calmly told, as an interesting piece of information, that the woman, *Tranitza* or *Kaloushka*, whom you see quietly chatting with her neighbours, poisoned her first husband in order to marry her second. You ask, "But was she not punished?" and the answer is a shrug of the shoulders and "Whose business is it?"

'The gipsies are allowed to settle in their villages by Mussulmans and Christians, but are usually much worse off amongst the latter than with the former.

'A relation of the way in which the Chinguinés of Derekuoi were treated by the villagers will give a fair sample of the hardships they endure without a chance of redress ; they do not complain, for what would be the use of a Mussulman gipsy in Bulgaria complaining to a Turkish Pasha against the immaculate pets of Russia ?

'The gipsies, in addition to the profits of their handicraft, live in a great measure upon the produce of their scanty herds and the sale of milk and butter in the towns ; but having no fields they are compelled to buy from the Rayah flour for themselves and corn for their cattle during the winter ; our villagers exacted from them a price far exceeding the value of the articles they sold—threepence for an oke [2.83 lb.] of flour instead of twopence, and one shilling and fourpence for a measure of barley instead of tenpence—and received payment either in money or in labour : in the latter case their profits were easily increased by a judicious abatement of the price asked by the gipsy.

'Thus during the winter the *Chinguinés* were a positive pecuniary advantage to the villagers ; but when spring came and their herds found fodder in the pasture lands, they had more milk and butter to sell at Varna, realized more money, and were therefore less dependent upon the village. The Rayahs then called an assembly of the notables, in which it was decided that as the gipsies' cattle were then feeding upon *their* grazing land without paying for the privilege,¹ and as they bought but little from the village, it would be well to give them a hint to quit.

'This hint was conveyed in the most delicate manner by burning their houses over their heads one night, without any previous notice, and the poor gipsies left ; but at the approach of winter many of them returned and asked leave to settle on another spot near the village. As winter is the profitable season to the inhabitants of Derekuoi, this request was kindly granted, and we have again a colony of gipsies, who in the summer will probably be evicted by some process equally summary with that of last year.

'Such is an instance of the treatment shown by Christians to Mussulmans, of whom they are not personally afraid ; had the Rayahs been the victims of a similar outrage inflicted by Turks, what a glorious theme it would have afforded to the friends of the Oriental Christian or the enemies of Turkey ; but who in Europe fights the battles of the Mussulman ?

'Shortly after the occurrence of this act of arson, the Authors mentioned the fact to the then Governor of Varna : he replied that he could do nothing, having received standing orders from Constantinople to favour the Rayahs in every possible manner.'

One other Gypsy example of the disastrous effects of Balkan Christianity is mentioned on pages 45 and 101. Quite recently the clergy had made it a sin to give alms to a Gypsy, a sin more serious than crimes against property, false witness, or other such peccadilloes for which absolution could be purchased at the rate of an egg apiece. One is reminded of the Christian charity of Archbishop Laurentius Petri, and inclined to applaud the English navy working on a Bulgarian railroad,

¹ 'It must be remembered that the Rayahs themselves *pay nothing* for the enormous acreage of pasture land which they claim and profit by.'

who said to the authors (p. 327): 'As far as I can make out, the Turks are the only Christians here.'

Several references to Gypsy occupations are scattered throughout the book. On p. 110 it is stated that the village *Kiaya*, an official who unites the duties of town-crier, police magistrate, and billet-master, and carries the holy water and the *monging guno* for the Papas when he makes his periodical raids, is 'nearly always a Mussulman gipsy.' The Bulgarian 'adores the profession of choban (herdsman), because his dogs can look after his charge, and he has nothing to do but to saunter about and improve his knowledge of the bagpipes. This idle occupation is disliked by the Turks, and the chobans of a Mussulman village are nearly always Bulgarians or gipsies' (p. 197). In the Bulgarian ballad of 'Joanczo Krym Pehlivancho' (p. 88) Gypsies figure as the Czar's trumpeter who makes a proclamation, and as the guards of the bear with which Joanczo wrestles, while (p. 371) a soldier in Zouave uniform is compared with 'a gipsy's ape.'

A variant of the Greek legend of the Gypsy alphabet (*J. G. L. S.*, vii. 74-5) is given in a footnote on page 100: 'There is a Turkish and Bulgarian tradition that when religions were given out to the different nations of the earth, the recipients cut their several creeds upon stone, engraved them upon wood or metal, or printed them in books (the Franks, for instance); the gipsies however wrote their canons upon the leaves of a cabbage, which was shortly afterwards seen and eaten by a Turkish donkey; this is the reason that the Chinguinés have neither religion nor God of their own.'

St. Clair and Brophy give much information about Bulgarian customs and folklore, among which are three points which may perhaps throw light on Gypsy ceremonies. On page 69 they say that 'a reason for the comparative purity of morals [among the Christian peasantry] may perhaps be found in the fact that previous to her marriage a bride goes through an ordeal such as that to which the ancient Queens of France were subjected,' referring apparently to a virginity-test. In dealing with the customs connected with death they describe (p. 75) how a Bulgarian 'prepares for the passage from life to an unknown world with a *sang froid* strongly resembling courage, but which is merely the result of a fatalism arising from apathy; he bargains with the Papas as to the price of his burial, orders the mortuary feasts, and in short prepares himself very quietly to repose in the grave which is already dug for him. During all this time the room is filled with women, shrieking and groaning in a manner sufficient almost to kill a healthy man.

'At the moment of death all pots, kettles, and other utensils are turned upside-down, in order to prevent the soul of the departed taking refuge in one of them and therefrom commencing a system of annoyance against the family; candles or tapers are lit around the body, and the head is dressed with flowers; a great Eikon (picture of a Saint) is placed upon the breast, the body is clothed in its best clothes, or in some specially made for the purpose, and a pair of slippers, whilst all the members of the family run outside and scream a lamentation . . . ' On page 77 it is stated that 'The Bulgarian mourning, which is worn only by women, consists in wearing every article of clothing inside out'; with which compare *J. G. L. S.*, v. 44 and vi. 149.

While on this subject it may be worth while to record that Henry C. Barkley (*Between the Danube and Black Sea*, London, John Murray, 1876, p. 87) asserts that the Turks in north-eastern Bulgaria believe that 'The evil spirits have complete power to torment him [a dead man] from the moment he breathes his last breath till the earth covers him,' and that in consequence they hasten the burial as much as possible. On p. 161 he mentions that a Turkish servant, on entering his service, took the precaution of breaking all his crockery. 'He feared I might have used the plates, etc., to eat swine's flesh on, so would not risk having anything to do with things so polluted'—a custom strongly resembling the Gypsy notion of ceremonial defilement.

28th October 1913.

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I.—THE DIALECT OF THE NOMAD GYPSY COPPERSMITHS

WITH TEXTS AND VOCABULARY

By FREDERICK GEORGE ACKERLEY

(Continued from page 149)

THIRD PART—VOCABULARY

I HAVE included in this vocabulary a number of words already recorded and annotated in Mr. Augustus John's articles in this *Journal*, but some highly dubious words in the *Paramitš* No. v., in *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 232, and in the Demeter songs (*ibid.*, New Series, ii. 197), I have omitted. These Demeter songs appear to be carelessly recited, and though, for one who at the time was totally unacquainted with the dialect, Mr. Augustus John has done his part of the work uncommonly well, there are the inevitable mistakes of the recorder to be allowed for. Song II., after the first eleven lines, breaks off into an improvisation of a pointedly personal character that no doubt afforded the Gypsy some amusement. The same may probably be said of Song IV. after the first line. The little that is intelligible in these songs may well remain in the decent obscurity of the Romani text. One may,

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however, rescue three words which, on account of the uncertainty of the general meaning, I have thought best to exclude from the following vocabulary:

bitšin-, to pay, to buy.
tav, thread. (Read *tavesa* for *travesa*.)
tšungar dava, I spit.

An attempt has been made to supply a complete set of references to parallels in the vocabularies printed by Miklosich which approach at all closely to our dialect. Many of these serve only to show how wide the divergencies are. Unfortunately Constantinescu's tales are without a vocabulary, and there is no index to the numerous words cited by Miklosich from various dialects as illustrations in the text of his *Mundarten*. It has seemed unnecessary to quote all parallels from Vaillant's little work.

Except in a few cases the Rumanian parallels are taken from Dr. Virgil Em. Halaceanu, *The Great Dictionary of the Roumanian and English Languages*, Jassy, s.a.

Words are arranged in the usual order, but initial *h* and *χ* are treated as one letter, and follow *g*; *v* and *w* are treated as one letter; *z* comes at the end.

Derived verbs are put together with their primitive roots; thus *phag-*, *pagav-*, *pagar-*, *phang-*, to break. The student who has mastered the section on verbal suffixes in the Grammar will see at a glance that *pagav-* is a derived causative from the root *phag-*, to break, and consequently will mean 'to cause to break.'

The arrival of other Gypsy coppersmiths in London, and a flying visit paid to this country by Mr. Frank Polaček, have made it possible to add considerably to the vocabulary, to correct a few mistakes, and to exhibit several grammatical forms which for want of material could not be included in the grammar. Attention is called in particular to the important notes s.vv. *gəndisar-*, *χanamik*, *kirad-*, *luljava*, *pirome*, *pras-*, *te*. Mr. Polaček has been acting as interpreter for the party in South America and can now speak Romani. With extraordinary patience and kindness he allowed the Hon. Secretary and myself to cross-examine him for eight hours at a stretch. He said the Gypsies pronounced certain words containing *-nr-* with a peculiarly guttural *r* which I cannot further define. These words are noted in the vocabulary.

Mr. Winstedt is now inclined to follow Sztojka's spelling and

write *h* in medial position where I have assumed an entire elision of the letter *s*. He asks whether this is not the 'Gypsy lisp' mentioned by several writers. It very probably is so. (See *J. G. L. S.*, v. 312.)

It has been suggested that an analysis of the vocabulary would be of interest:

	Words.	Per cent.
Common Romani:		
Indian, ...	330	39
Non-Indian, ...	183	22
Rumanian (including many Slavonic words),	224	26
Other Slavonic, ...	36	4
Hungarian, ...	11	2
Unidentified, ...	60	7
Total, ...	<u>844</u>	<u>100</u>

In the above analysis I have only counted roots, and have omitted a few words apparently picked up from German, e.g. *platsa*. I am not so rash as to guarantee the exact accuracy of my calculation. For the Indian element I have followed Miklosich, not because he is an ideal guide, but for want of a better. The number of words ascribed to Rumanian is perhaps too great: several which are ultimately Slavonic may have reached our dialect of Romani by a more direct route; yet, in spite of this, the Rumanian element is not unduly large. For the unidentified words I can only offer the apology of one who has done his utmost.

Abbreviations:

Ascoli = G. I. Ascoli, *Zigeunerisches*. Halle, 1865.

J. G. L. S. = *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*. References to the first three volumes are distinguished by the addition of 'Old Series' or 'New Series,' as the case may be.

Ješina = P. Josef Ješina, *Romáňi Čib oder die Zigeuner-Sprache*. Leipzig, 1886.

Mik. = F. Miklosich, *Ueber die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europa's*. Vienna, 1872-80. The pagination of the offprints is followed.

Mik. *Beiträge* = F. Miklosich, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Zigeunermundarten*. Vienna, 1874-8.

Paspati = A. G. Paspati, *Études sur les Tchinghianés ou Bohémiens de l'empire ottoman*. Constantinople, 1870.

Pott=A. F. Pott, *Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien*. Halle, 1844-5.

Vaillant=J.-A. Vaillant, *Grammaire, Dialogues et Vocabulaire de la langue des Bohémiens ou Cigains*. Paris, 1868.

Wlislöcki=Dr. H. von Wlislöcki, *Die Sprache der transilvanischen Zigeuner*. Leipzig, 1884.

VOCABULARY

aba, already. *Pilem aba dópaš rajtji*, I have already drunk half the night. Rum. *abia*. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 27.

abiav, wedding festival. Mik., ii. 39, 66; v. 6; vi. 48, 52; vii. 21.

ada, this. *Ada dives, ada djes*, to-day. See *adjes*.

ade (imperative), give! See *da-*.

adjes, adja, to-day. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 5; v. 27; Mik., ii. 27, 36; v. 6; vi. 4, 22, 36; vii. 4.

adžukar-, ažukar-, to wait. *Ažukar*, be quiet! wait! gently! *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 221; Mik., v. 9; vi. 22, 36; viii. 88. *Ažukaribé*, delay.

agor, agoro, corner. Pl. *agore*. Mik., vi. 22; vii. 5. See *gor*.

aj (exclamation), ah! Mik., v. 6.

akana, now. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 27; Mik., ii. 33; v. 6; vi. 22, 36; vii. 5, 72. See *kana*.

akanas, now. Mik., vi. 4, *akanakas*, 'neulich.'

akanáš, at once. Mik., vii. 5.

akata (scil. *áks-ta*), here he is. *Akatá-lo*, here it is. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 222; Mik., v. 6; vi. 36.

alav, word. Mik., ii. 33; v. 7; vi. 22, 36, 48; viii. 5.

ale (imperative), take! See *la-*. Cf. Mik., ii. 33; v. 7.

altári, altar. Rum. *altar*. Mik., ii. 62.

amal, friend. Mik., v. 7; vii. 6. The proper word in this dialect is *wortáko*, 'only *Sinte* use *amal*.'

amaró, our. *Amáre Róma*, our tribe of Gypsies. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 46; v. 27; Mik., v. 7; vi. 22, 36, 48, 52, 56; vii. 6.

amblajibé, hanging. *Amblajimasko*, condemned to be hanged.

amblav-, to hang. Pott, ii. 57; Mik., vi. 20, 47; viii. 89, *umblav*.

ambold-, to return, turn round. *Amboldem*, we returned. *Tši ambolda me*, I shall not return. Mik., v. 12; vii. 23, but cf. Rum. *imboldi*, to drive on, hasten. The Rum. word may have

had some influence, but I prefer to explain the form as being due to the prefixing of *a-* (cf. *ares-*, *ašun-*, *aratši*), with a strengthening of *b* to *mb*.

ambóri, it is doubtful. Rum. *ambara*, embarrassment.

ambrol, pear. Also oxytone *ambról*. Mik., ii. 33; v. 7; vi. 22, 36; vii. 6.

ame, we. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 28; Mik., ii. 24; v. 7; vi. 4, 22, 36, 49, 52; vii. 6.

amparato. See *šmparato*.

an-, to bring. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 28; Mik., v. 7; vi. 22, 36; vii. 7.

anav, name. Pl. *anava*. Mik., v. 7; viii. 24.

and, to, into. *Ando veš*, into the wood. *Ande but bsrš*, for many years. *Andel tserhi*, to the camp. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 115; v. 28; Mik., ii. 33; v. 7; vi. 4, 22, 36, 52; vii. 7. See *andré*.

anda (for *andal*: *andral*), from. *Anda la xorašanengo mui*, out of the mouth of the Turks. *And' o kadalesko mui*, out of this man's mouth. *Desa duma maj mišto ando sar*, you speak best of all. *Avri ando London*, outside London. *Anda šavo*, [they wept] for the boy. *Anda mui* (adverbial), aloud. *Te asas anda lende*, that you will laugh about them. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 115; Mik., ii. 33; iv. 25; v. 7; vi. 22, 36.

andré, andra, within. *Dava andré*, I will hide. *Andra gune*, in sacks. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 230; Mik., v. 7; vi. 4, 22, 36. See *and*.

angal, lame. See *lango*.

angáli, embrace. Mik., v. 7; vii. 8.

angara. See *angrə*.

anglé, in front. *Maj anglé*, further on. *Anglé palpale*, there and back (of a return ticket). Mik., ii. 27, 33; v. 7; vi. 4, 22, 36, 52; vii. 8.

anglia, England.

angor-, *ənkər-*, to bring, put. *ənkər tšo vaš*, put your hand there. Mik., v. 69, 70; vi. 50.

angrə, angara, ongara, coal. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 226; v. 28; Mik., v. 7; vi. 49; vii. 8.

angústri, angrúšti, angrusti, ring. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 46; Mik., v. 7; vi. 36; vii. 9.

ankl-, ankli-, anklis-, to escape. Perhaps this should be *ənkli-*. Mik., viii. 25, *nik*.

anro (guttural *r*), egg. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 28; Mik., ii. 25, 33, 64; v. 7; vi. 4, 22, 36; viii. 93 *vando*.

anro, flour. Mik., ii. 64; v. 8; vi. 4, 22, 36, 55; viii. 93 *vanro*.

ansuri-, to marry. Rum. *însura*. Mik., v. 70.

ansuribé, marriage. *Ansurima(s)ko*, of marriage.

apoj, *apo*, then. Rum. *apož*. Mik., v. 7.

aprélo, April.

araduji-, to set off. *Aradujina pe*, they set off. Rum. (ancient) *aradui*.

arakh-, *arakhav-*, to seek, find, protect. *Tši arakhliam butši*, I did not find work. *Kaj arakhadjón akand*, where they are to be found now. In Text II. (d) *arekádile lengs*, were caused to be found for them. *Te 'rakhel o Djel*, God protect! a variant of *te feril o Djel*. See s.v. *feri-*. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 227, *rakl-*, to find. Mik., ii. 28; v. 8; vi. 22, 36; viii. 54. Paspatis, 140 *arakáva*, 'trouver, garder.'

aras-. See *ares-*.

arat, *aratši*, to-night, last night, yesterday. Mik., vi. 22, 36.

aratš. See *ares-*.

aratšia, spirits. Rum. *arac*. See *rettja*.

are, out. *T' anklin are*, that they escape. See *avri*.

arek-. See *arakh-*.

ares-, *aratš-*, *aras-*, to arrive, reach. *Aresela*, he touches (the ceiling). *But aresel*, it costs a lot. *Arašlim*, I arrived. Mik., v. 8; viii. 57.

arjól-arjéska, 'heads or tails' in tossing a coin. Cf. Russian *orjól ili rješotka*, 'heads or tails,' lit. 'eagle or grating.' *Arjól* is certainly the Russian *orjól*; it has been suggested that *arjéska* may represent the Russian *Aljóska*, little Alexander, i.e. the late Emperor.

armája, curses. Mik., ii. 38; v. 8; vii. 10; and cf. vi. 45 *romaja*.

ártšitš, tin. Mik., ii. 27; v. 8; vi. 49; vii. 10.

as-, to laugh. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 28; Mik., ii. 24; v. 8; vi. 10, 22, 36, 52; vii. 10.

asfin, *asfa*, *asva*, tear. Mik., v. 8; vi. 27; vii. 12.

astar-, to seize, capture, imprison. *Astaras xanamitši*, we will enter into the *xanamik* relationship, we will unite our children in marriage. Mik., v. 8; vi. 36; vii. 11.

astaribé, prison.

aš-, to stop (transitive and intransitive). *Aš Devlésa*, remain with God. *Le gaže ašile le te žana*, the gorgios stopped them from

- going. *Aš*, shut up! be silent! Mik., v. 8; vi. 4, 22, 36, 52; vii. 4.
- ašti*, it is possible. Mik., v. 8; vii. 11. See *dašti*, *nasti*.
- ašun-*, *šun-*, to hear, listen. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 35; Mik., ii. 24; v. 9; vi. 19, 22, 36; viii. 75.
- atuntši*, then. Rum. *atuncŭ*. Mik., v. 9.
- ašlin*, palace. Rum. *aula*. Mik., v. 9.
- uv-*, to come. *Av ordé*, come here! *Avesa*, you will become. *Aviljam*, we came. *Aven-ta*, come! (Pl.). *Avel mange te rovaš*, I feel inclined to weep. *Šaj te avelas butši*, possibly work may come (Imperfect for Subjunctive). *J. G. L. S.*, v. 28; Mik., v. 9; vi. 10, 22, 36, 49, 52; vii. 12. See also what he says under *uv*, viii. 91.
- avdžin*, steel. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 46; Mik., ii. 26, 30, 38; vi. 22, 36, 49; vii. 3 *abčin*.
- aver*, other. *Aver tehara*, the day after to-morrow. Mik., v. 9; vi. 4, 22, 36. Cf. *vavir*.
- avri*, out. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 28; Mik., v. 9; vi. 4, 22, 36, 49; vii. 14. See *are*.
- ažukar-*. See *adžukar-*.
- ba* (particle used to strengthen an imperative). *Le-ba*, take!
- baχ*, *baχt*, luck, fortune. *Te del o Djel tut but baχt*, may God give you good luck. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 46; Mik., v. 9; vii. 14.
- baχtales*, fortunately. *Te žas baχtales: te ares baχtales*, may you go fortunately: may you come fortunately. Toast when drinking.
- baχtalo*, happy. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 28; Mik., vi. 22, *bahtalo*, 'nützlich.' *baho*. See *paho*.
- baj*, sleeve. Mik., ii. 38; vii. 14.
- bal*, hair. Pl. *bala*. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 46; iv. 73; Mik., ii. 25, 33, 37; v. 10; vi. 5, 22, 36, 49, 52, 56; vii. 15.
- balaj*, cradle, trough in which underclothing is washed. Mik., v. 10; vi. 5, 22; vii. 18.
- balitšo*, little hog. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 222, *puviako balitšo*, hedgehog. Mik., ii. 33; v. 10.
- balo*, pig. *Balo kongralo*, hedgehog. Mik., ii. 25, 33, 38, 64; v. 10; vi. 5, 22, 36, 52; vii. 15.
- balval*, *barwal*, wind. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 28; Mik., ii. 27; v. 10; vi. 5, 22, 36; vii. 16.

- bandjo, bango*, crooked. Used of a ship with a 'list.' *Bango vaš*, left hand. Mik., v. 10; vi. 5, 22; viii. 38. He treats this word as a participle of *phag-*, to break.
- bandjov-*, to bend. *Bandjola*, it bends. Mik., v. 10; vi. 36, and viii. 38, s. v. *phag*.
- bangar-*, to twist, wind. *Kaj bangarel o drom*, where the road bends.
- bar*, stone. Mik., ii. 26, 33, 36; v. 10; vi. 5, 22, 36, 49; vii. 16.
- baraj*, ? money. Cf. Rum. *para*.
- barak*, encampment. Rum. *baracă*, a hut.
- baravalo*. See *barvalo*.
- barburitsa*, barberries. Rum. *berberiță*.
- barjov-*, to increase, grow big. *Barjovel o rat*, night is getting on. *Barile*, they grew big. *Kana barilo o Liverpool*, when Liverpool grew big. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 28; Mik., v. 10; vi. 23.
- baro*, big. *Bari kris*, law-court. Note the phrase *Me sim baro nasvalo*, I am very ill, where one would expect *but*. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 28; Mik., ii. 26, 33, 36; v. 11; vi. 5, 23, 36, 49, 52; vii. 17.
- báro, bárolo*, yard (measure). Pl. *bárole*. Cf. French *barreau*; Catalanian *vara*.
- barta*, comrade. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 222.
- barvalo, baravalo*, rich. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 28; Mik., ii. 37; v. 10; vi. 5, 23, 37, 49; vii. 16.
- barwal*. See *balval*.
- baš-, bašav-*, to creak, play music. Mik., v. 10; vi. 5, 23, 37, 49; vii. 18.
- bazar*, market. Rum. from Persian through Turkish.
- beli*, back-post of a tent. Mik., v. 11; vii. 18.
- beng*, devil. Mik., ii. 28, 37; v. 11; vii. 19.
- bengajlo*, possessed, in a fit.
- bera, bira*, beer. Rum. *bere*. Mod. Gk. *μπίρα*. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 73.
- berand*, horizontal tent-pole. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 6; Mik., vii. 19.
- bero*, ship. This word is used only by the older people. Mik., ii. 25; vii. 19.
- berš*. See *bərš*.
- beséχ, bezeχ*, sin. Pl. *besexa*. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 234; Mik., ii. 37; v. 11; vi. 23, 52; vii. 20.
- beš-, bəš-, bəs-*, to sit. *Mišto bešesa*, I am glad to see you sitting here. Greeting to a friend found sitting in the house.

J. G. L. S., New Series, ii. 46; v. 29; Mik., v. 11; vi. 5, 23, 37; vii. 20.

beštiju, beast. Rum. *bestiă*. This word is only of recent use in Rumanian. Our Gs. may have picked it up elsewhere.

bezex. See *besex*.

bi-, without. *Bi-boldo*, unbaptized, Jew. *Bi-barengo*, without stones. *Bi-dui šellinge*, except two shillings. *Bi-grastengoro urdon*, a taxi-cab, motor-car. *Bi-londl zumi*, unsalted soup. *Bi-masesko*, vegetarian. *Bi-lašo*, bad. *Bi-pušškako*, without a gun. *Bi-tusa*, without you. *Bi-šuriake*, without a knife. *Štar bi-bišengo*, twenty minutes to four o'clock. *Deš bi-dešengo*, ten minutes to ten. Mik., v. 11; vi. 23, 52; vii. 20.

bibi, aunt. Voc. *bibe*. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 46; Mik., vi. 5, 52; vii. 21.

bil-, to melt. *Bilav*, I melt. Mik., v. 11; vi. 23, 37; vii. 22.

bira, beer. See *bera*.

biro, chieftain. Hung. *biró*, judge, mayor. *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 109. Cf. *birsvo*.

birta, *virta*, *virto*, tavern. Pl. *birturi*, *birturia*. Rum. *birt*. See *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 235.

birtositsa, woman who keeps a tavern, barmaid.

birsvo, mayor, chief. *Birsvo le gavje'ko*, mayor of the village. Cf. *biro*.

bis, *biš*, *biž*, twenty. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 46; Mik., v. 11; vii. 22.

bišter-, *bister-*, to forget. *Bisterden*, you have forgotten. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 222; Mik., v. 11; vi. 23, 37; vii. 22.

bitšo, whip. *Bitšosa*, with a whip, glossed *tšukniasa*. Rum. *biciu*. Mik., vi. 37; x. 3.

biwand, raw. Pott, ii. 406. See *ivand*.

biž. See *bis*.

bjatši, drunkenness. Rum. *beat*, drunk.

bogonen, *bogunjen* (acc. pl.), poor sort of horses, screws, crocks. Rum. *pogan*, 'villain, laid.' See *pogano*.

bokh, hunger. *Me merai bokhatar*, I shall die of hunger. Mik., v. 12; vii. 22.

bokhalo, hungry. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 29; Mik., v. 12; vi. 5, 23, 37.

bokole, cakes. Mik., v. 12; vii. 23.

bol-, to baptize. *Kaj boldilan*, where were you baptized (i.e. born)?

bi-boldo, unbaptized, Jew. Mik., v. 12; vii. 23.

bold-, to turn. See *ambold-*.

- bolta*, shop. Rum. *boltă*. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 29, *bolta*, merchant.
- bonitsa*, hospital. Rum. *bolniță*.
- bordža*, stack. *Bordža le khaseski*, hay-stack. Rum. (ancient) *burgiu*. Cf. Paspatis, 190.
- bori*, *borori*, bride. Used for niece by Miloš Tšoron's party. Mik., v. 13; vi. 37, 52; vii. 23.
- borta*, stick. Rum. *bătă*, joist, beam. Cf. Mik., *Beiträge*, iv. 256, and *ek borta*. See *bota*.
- bóta*, club, stick, iron-bar, any heavy weapon to strike with. Rum. *butuc*, block, clog, trunk. I am inclined to think that *bortu* and *bota* are distinct words.
- botška*, tub. Russian *botška*.
- bov*, fireplace. Mik., ii. 36; v. 12; vi. 5, 23; vii. 24.
- braška*, lizard. Rum. *broască*, frog. Mik., ii. 25; v. 12.
- brasuleta*, bracelet. Cf. *brusleto*.
- bre* (interjection). Rum. *bre!*
- britš*, razor. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 222.
- brusleto*, bracelet. See *brasuleta*.
- bufári*, pocket-book, wallet. Hardly German *Buch* (book) with the suffix *-ari*. See the Grammar, ii. § 2. French *buvard*, blotting-case, has been suggested.
- bughlimos*, width.
- bughlo*, *buxlo*, wide. Mik., ii. 29; v. 13; vi. 37, *bulo*; vii. 24.
- buidaga*, window-glass. Cf. Hung. *üveg*, glass, bottle. See *vojaga*.
- buko*, liver. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 46; Mik., vi. 37, 52; vii. 25.
- bul*, anus, pudendum muliebre. *Si tuke lašo bul* (wrong gender!). *Dař tut punrende ande bul* (read *punrensa*). *Me dař tut bule*. *Me dař tut bulende*. *Nasti te dař la bule kathé*. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 46; Mik., v. 13; viii. 97.
- bumbolosko*, Hungary. Also a patronymic, *Bumbolostangi še*, daughter of Bumbolo's tribe.
- bur-*, to brush. Imperative *bura*. Mik., vii. 25.
- buriko*, navel. Rum. *buric*. Mik., v. 13.
- búrnek*, handful. Mik., vii. 25.
- busnja*, cross-pieces of a spit at right-angles to the *rai* or axle. Cf. Mik., v. 13; vi. 37; vii. 25 *bust*. Better perhaps *buzni*, goat (*q.v.*).
- bustan*, garden. Pl. *bustaia*. Persian through Turkish.
- bušjov-*, to be called. *Bušós*, you are called. *Sar búšol*, how is it called? (For the irregular accent cf. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 113, where a similar irregularity has led the

recorder into a delightful mistake.) *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 222; v. 29; Mik., v. 13; vii. 25.

but, much. *Buti-var*, often. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 29; Mik., ii. 36; v. 13; vi. 6, 37; vii. 26.

butar-, to open. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 222. See *puter-*.

butela, bottle. Rum. *butelcă*. The form of the word may have been influenced by French *bouteille*.

butši, cheeks. Rum. *bucă*.

butši, work. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 222; v. 29; Mik., ii. 37; v. 13; vi. 23, 37, 49; vii. 26.

butšumo, tree. Rumanian. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 222.

buzdogano, club, cudgel. Rum. *busdugan*. Mik., v. 13.

buzexa, spurs. Mik., ii. 40; v. 13; vii. 26.

buzni, goat. *Mortši buzniati*, goat-skin. Mik., ii. 25; vi. 23, 37, 49, 52; vii. 26. Cf. *busnja*.

berš, *berš*, year. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 29; Mik., ii. 27, 33; v. 13; vi. 5, 23, 37, 52; vii. 19.

béršin, rain. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 29; Mik., ii. 27; v. 12; vi. 6, 23, 37, 52; vii. 24.

bəs-, *bəš-*. See *beš*.

da-, to give. *Dav tusa duma*, I will speak with you. *Da, de, ade*, give! *J. G. L. S.*, v. 29; Mik., ii. 28, 36; v. 16; vi. 7, 24, 38; vii. 39.

dab, kick (of a horse). Mik., v. 17; vi. 38; vii. 40.

daba, only. Hungarian. See *numaj*.

dad, father. Voc. *dado*; *dade le* in Text iv. (a). *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 46; v. 29; Mik., ii. 26; v. 17; vi. 7, 24, 38, 53, 56; vii. 40.

daj, *dej*, *de*, mother. Voc. *dale*; *daje* in Text III. (e). *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 46; v. 29; Mik., v. 17; vi. 7, 24, 38, 53, 56; vii. 40.

dand, tooth. Pl. *dandá*. Said to mean front tooth only. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 46; iv. 73; Mik., ii. 25, 33, 37; v. 17; vi. 7, 24, 38, 49, 53, 56; vii. 41. Cf. *tar*.

dara-, *darav-*, to fear. *Me darañ paiestar*, I am afraid of water. *Daravel man*, he frightens me. *Darajlo*, afraid. *Darajli i žuli*, the woman is frightened. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 223; v. 29; Mik., ii. 36; v. 17; vi. 7, 24, 38; vii. 41.

dašti, it is impossible. Cf. Mik., xii. 54, *daštiva*, possum; *daštis*, potes. See *ašti*, *nasti*.

de. See *daj*.

de, from. Rum. *de*. Cf. *sode*, how many. *Sode tšaso*, what is the time? Mik., ii. 33; v. 17.

de mult, long ago. *De mult uštilo*, he got up long ago. Rum. *de mult*. Mik., v. 17, 39.

del. See *devel*.

delar-, to set out. See *telar-*.

dena, that not (scil. *te na*).

déngi, money. Russian.

depelmešti, a hero.

desara, this evening. Rum. *desearđ*.

deš, *dež*, ten. *Deš-u-dui*, twelve. *K'šl dešenge*, at ten o'clock.

J. G. L. S., New Series, ii. 46; v. 30; Mik., ii. 29; v. 19; vii. 42.

devel, *del*, *djel*, God. Voc. *devla* and *o djel*; poetical *devlaj*.

J. G. L. S., New Series, ii. 6, 46; iv. 2, 23; v. 30; Mik., ii.

28, 29, 33, 36; v. 18; vi. 7, 24, 38, 49, 53, 56; vii. 42.

dikh-, to see. *Dikhap*, I see, was heard once, but this 1st sing. pres. termination is unusual in the dialect. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 30; Mik., ii. 24, 33; v. 18; vi. 7, 24, 38, 49; vii. 43.

diklo, kerchief, shawl. *Diklesa parunesa*, with a silk kerchief.

Dav tu diklo te koses to nak, I will give you a handkerchief to wipe your nose. Mik., v. 18; vii. 43.

dilipé, folly. Mik., vi. 24.

dilo, silly, foolish. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 6; iv. 223; Mik., vi. 49; vii. 43.

dives. See *djes*.

diwan, *diwano*, conference, assembly. Pl. *divanure*, conversations. Rumanian, from Persian through Turkish.

djel. See *devel*.

djes, *džes*, day. *Sako djes*, for ever. *Dives* occurs in *ada dives*, to-day. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 30; Mik., ii. 27, 33, 36; v. 17; vi. 8, 25, 39, 49; vii. 44.

do, two. See *dui*.

do (intensive particle). *Dópaš*, half. *Doparnó*, white. Slavonic.

dobrój, good morning! Slavonic; cf. Russian *dobro*, good. This is the correct form, but one usually hears *droboj* (*q.v.*).

dópaš, half. Mik., viii. 33, *paš*. See *paš*.

dopo, coppersmiths' anvil, shaped like a big nail. Rum. *dupăci*, to beat. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 47 *doba*, drum; iv. 223; Mik., ii. 42 *dobo*, 'Trommel,' 64 *dopo*, 'Feile'; v. 18 *dóbo*, Trommel. Cf. Paspatis, 213 *dómbos*.

- dosta, dosto*, plenty. Pott, ii. 308; Mik., v. 18; vii. 45.
- drab*, medicine. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 233; Mik., ii. 33; v. 18; vii. 45.
- drabar-*, to read, tell fortunes. *Drabaraŭ ando vas*, I will read the hand. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 30; Mik., ii. 33; v. 18; vii. 45.
- drabarimos*, a fortune. *Love drabarimaske*, money made by fortune-telling.
- drabarno*, doctor. Scil. learned, from *drabar-*.
- drago*, beloved. Rum. *drag*. Mik., v. 18; vi. 8, 25.
- dragoman*, interpreter. Rumanian.
- drobój*, good morning! *J. G. L. S.*, v. 30. See *dobrój*.
- drom, drumo*, road, way, stripe (in cloth). *Zas amenge drom ke London*, let us go away to London. *Poxtan lole dromensa*, cloth with red stripes. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 30; Mik., ii. 33; v. 19; vi. 8, 38, 49; vii. 46.
- druguisar-*, to bargain. *Druguisajlo*, he bargained. Rum. *ŭrgui*.
- druker-*, to tell fortunes. Mik., vii. 48.
- drumo*, road. Rum. *drum*. See *drom*.
- duχ*, spirit. *Sveti duχ*, Holy Ghost. Rum. *duh*. Mik., v. 19; vii. 47.
- duhan, tuhan*, tobacco. *Duhanosko fabrika*, tobacco factory. Rumanian from Servian, from Turkish from Arabic.
- dui*, two. Obl. *do*. *K'sl dui*, at two o'clock. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 47; v. 30; Mik., ii. 29; v. 19; vi. 8, 38; vii. 47.
- duito*, second. *Duito phral*, brother-in-law. *duita* (sic!) *vojro*, second cousin. Mik., v. 18.
- dukh-*, to pain, ache. *Dukhal mo pŕr*, my stomach aches. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 30; Mik., ii. 36; v. 19; vi. 25, 38; vii. 47.
- dukúm*, fist. By metathesis from *dumuk*. The word was recorded twice independently. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 47; Mik., v. 19; vii. 44.
- duláp*, cupboard. Rum. *dulap*. Not generally known. See *ŕkafo*. *Dulap* is common in all Balkan tongues. Cf. *The People of Turkey* (London, 1878), vol. ii. p. 32, 'the *Dulap*, a revolving cupboard in the wall [of a Turkish house] between the Haremlik and Selamlik.'
- duma*, speech. *Daŭ duma*, I speak. *Des duma*, you speak. A Slavonic root found in Rumanian in the form *dumat*. Mik., v. 19; vii. 47; Pott, ii. 314. (Note that both *vaker-* and *pukav-* are wanting in this dialect.)

dumo, shoulder (not 'back' in this dialect). Mik., vi. 25, 39, 53; vii. 47.

dur, far. Mik., ii. 29; v. 19; vi. 8, 25, 39; vii. 48.

duri, ?longing. *Fedvoraka but si duri*, Fedvora has many longings (?). Cf. Rum. *dor*. Mik., v. 18.

durjala, ?waters. Pl. of **durjal*. Cf. Mik., vii. 43 *devrjal*. Or (?) it is far off, from a passive verb **durjov*-. See note on Text iv. (b).

dušman, enemy. Pl. *dušmaia*. Rum. *duşman*, from Turkish from Persian. Mik., vi. 25; vii. 48; Pott, ii. 307.

duvar, twice. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 223; Mik., v. 19.

dža-, *ža-*, to go. *Ža Devlesa*, go with God (farewell to a departing guest). *Žan-ta*, go! (plural). *Gelo-tar*, he has gone. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 30; Mik., ii. 24, 33, 36; v. 67; vi. 8, 25, 39, 49, 53; vii. 48.

džan-, *džun-*, *žan-*, *žen-*, *žun-*, to know, learn. *Žanaŕ*, *ženo*, I know. *Žunela(s)*, he was knowing. *Džundom lendar*, I ascertained from them. *Žanglo*, known. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 30; Mik., ii. 28; v. 67; vi. 8, 25, 39, 49; vii. 49.

džes, day. See *djes*.

džezus, *džeszus*, *žezus*, railway train. (The *ɛ* is only a glide.)

dži, stomach. See *oži*.

džilab-, to recite, read aloud. *Džilabá jek paramiši*, tell a tale! *Džilabá les*, read it out! Cf. *džiliv*-.

džili, song. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 223; Mik., vi. 9, 39; vii. 56.

džiliv-, to sing. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 30; Mik., ii. 28; vi. 25, 39, 49, 53.

džindžar-, to reach. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 221 *džindž-*; Ješina, 77 *dind'arav*. Colocci, 383 *zindjeràa*; Mik., ii. 62.

dživ-, *živ-*, to live, dwell. *Džil*, *žil*, he lives. Mik., vii. 50.

džomnone. *Džomnone dromensa*, on the high roads. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 230.

džun-, to know. See *džan-*.

džungales, dirtily. See *žungalo*.

dž sar, since. Mik., iv. 52. Cf. *de*.

e (article). See *o*.

ek, one. See *jek*.

enja, nine. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 47; iv. 234; Mik., ii. 29; v. 20; vii. 52.

fábrika, factory. Rum. *fabrică*.

falka, chin. Rum. *falcă*, jaw. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 47; iv. 47.

- familia*, family. Rum. *familie*.
- farmiŭš*, poison, charm. Glossed 'something bad. Not the same as *drab*.' Rum. *farmec*, enchantment.
- fasoj*, bean. Rum. *fasolă*. Mik., ii. 64; v. 21; vi. 25.
- făŭsa*, face. Rum. *faŭă*. Mik., v. 20.
- fěra*, a fair.
- feri-*, to protect. *Te feril o Djel*, God protect! used when curses (*armăja*) have been put on one. Rum. *feri*. Mik., v. 20.
- feteder*, better. Used once by Todor, son of Miloš Tšoron, in place of the more usual expression *maj lašo*. Mik., vi. 39; vii. 53.
- filastra*, *filastr*, *fileastr*, window. Rum. *fereastră*. Mik., ii. 37; v. 20; vi. 25, 39.
- filatin*, castle. Pott, ii. 392 *fillozin*.
- fluירו*, shin. Rum. *fluer*, shin-bone, flute. Cf. Mik., v. 20 *flüeru*, flute.
- forma*, shape. Rum. *formă*.
- foro*, town. Pl. *fore*. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 30; Mik., ii. 37; v. 21; vi. 8, 39, 49; vii. 53.
- franki*, *frankuri*, francs. French (through Rum. *frăncă*).
- fuga*, quickly. *Žal fuga o bigrastengo urdon*, the motor-car goes quickly. Rum. *fugă*. Cf. *sigo*.
- fundo*, bottom. *Ži fundoste*, to the bottom, to the dregs. Rum. *fund*. Mik., v. 21.
- furbari*, dyeworks.
- furbi-*, to dye. *Furbil*, he dyes. Servian *farbati*, German *färben*. Mik., vi. 25.
- furna*, fork. Mod. Gk. *περσύνι*.
- gad*, *gadoro*, shirt. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 47; iv. 73; v. 30; Mik., ii. 33; v. 21; vi. 9, 25, 39, 53; vii. 53.
- galav*, a double sack, i.e. two joined together at their mouths. Mik., v. 21.
- galbe*, *galbi*, pounds. Rum. *galben*, ducat. Mik., v. 21; vi. 39.
- galbitse*, little coins.
- galbuno*, *galbano*, yellow. Rum. *galben*. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 223; Mik., ii. 27; vi. 25, 39.
- gandi-*, to think. See *gəndi-*.
- ganitša*, a proper name, but used playfully of a man who pretended to be a drunkard. They said Ganitša was a *phuro rom* whose name is used proverbially.

- garav-*, to hide. *Garadó*, hidden, put away. Mik., v. 21; vi. 9, 39; vii. 55.
- gata*, *gater*, *gatar*, finished. The forms with *r* are probably due to mishearing of *gats*. Rum. *gata*. Mik., v. 21.
- gav*, village. *Pel gava*, in the country. *Grastes u gaunges*, horse of the villages. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 30; Mik., ii. 28, 37; v. 21; vi. 9, 39, 49; vii. 54.
- gazda*, head man of a family. Rum. *gazdă*, householder. Mik., ii. 44; v. 21.
- gazeta*, newspaper. Rum. *gazetă*.
- gaži*, gentile woman. Mik., v. 21; vi. 53.
- gažo*, gentile man. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 30; Mik., ii. 37; v. 21; vi. 9, 25, 39; vii. 53.
- genwar*, book. Hung. *könyv*. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 6; v. 31; Mik., ii. 47.
- ghramisar-*, *ramisar-*, to write. *So si ghramisardo urde*, what is written there? Mik., v. 24; vi. 45. See *hramisar-*.
- gladži*, bottle. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 223.
- glavno*, head, principal. Russian *glavno*.
- glašto*, *kljašta*, *krjašta*, tongs. Rum. *clește*. Mik., vi. 27, 41.
- glinta*, mirror. Rum. *oglinďă*.
- godī*: *kána-gódi*, whenever. Servian *god*. Mik., vi. 27, 39.
- godiaver*, clever. Mik., v. 22; vi. 25, 40, 50; vii. 56.
- godlo*, noise. Used as a synonym for *rhil*. Mik., vii. 57.
- godži*, brains, intellect. Mik., v. 22; vi. 50, 53; vii. 56.
- goj*, sausage, human excreta. Mik., ii. 44, 68; vi. 40; vii. 57.
- gono*, *guno*, sack. Mik., v. 22; vi. 40; vii. 57.
- gor*, environs. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 223. See *agor*.
- gor*. See *kor*.
- gožnardo*, wise, intelligent. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 223.
- gožni*, dung. Paspatis, 247; Ascoli, 18.
- graj*. See *gras*.
- granitsa*, frontier. Rum. *graniță*.
- granitsa*, cake. Rum. *grineăță*.
- gras*, *grast*, *graj*, horse. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 31; Mik., ii. 25, 37; v. 22; vi. 9, 26, 40, 50, 53; vii. 58.
- grastoro*, little horse.
- gropa*, large hole. Rum. *groapă*. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 235; Mik., v. 22. Cf. *xu*.
- gudlo*, *guglo*, sweet. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 224; Mik., v. 22; vi. 26, 40, 53; vii. 58.

guler, collar. Rum. *guler*, throat. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 47.

guno. See *gono*.

gurtano, cough. Cf. Rum. *gutunar*, snuffles, running; or *gítui*, to choke. Cf. Mik., ii. 64 *grt'ano*, 'Gurgel.'

guru, bull. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 224; Mik., ii. 25, 33, 37; v. 22; vi. 9, 26, 40, 50, 53.

gurunia, whores. Probably from *gurumni*, cow. Cf. Pott, ii. 142 *guruju*, dissolute fellow (quoting Borrow).

gutia, box. Rum. *cutie*. From Turkish.

gšndi, *gandi*-, to think. *Gšndi me*, I think. Mik., v. 23.

gšndisar-, to think. Rum. *gšndi*. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 31; Mik., v. 23; vi. 39. A consideration of the new material strengthens my opinion, which for want of sufficient evidence was omitted from the grammar, that all these loan-verbs have the two forms—(1) in *-i* used only in the present, (2) in *-sar* used normally in the past alone, but at times in the present. One of us once used *gšndisaraš*, and was corrected to *gšndi me*. I see no reason why *gšndiv* should not be used (cf. *patšiv*, I permit), but the use of the *-sar* stem in the present is probably a solecism to be avoided. See Mik., v. 3.

gšndo, thought. Pl. *gšnduri*, *gšnduria*. *Si le gšndo pe mand*, he is thinking of me; said after belching or sneezing. Rum. *gšnd*. Mik., v. 23.

gštisar-, to finish. Rum. *gšti*. Mik., v. 23. Cf. *gata*.

χa-, to eat. Used also for 'to waste,' 'to spend' money. *Te χas tšo kar*. *Me χau laki miš*. *χala but love*, he spends (also 'it costs') much money. *Tši χajan phuv*, you didn't bite the dust? (said to one who tripped). *χaljam*, I have eaten. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 31; Mik., ii. 24, 33, 36; v. 24; vi. 9, 26, 40; vii. 59.

χabé, *χšbé*, food. *χšmástš*, for food. Mik., v. 24; vi. 9, 26.

χaing, well, fountain. Mik., ii. 26; v. 24; vi. 9, 26; vii. 61.

haj, *ha*, and. Mik., ii. 33; v. 23. See *thaj*.

hajde, *hajda*, come now! Found in all south-eastern European languages. Mik., ii. 33; v. 23; vi. 36, 40.

hala, crocodile. Slavonic. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 195, *χála*.

χalado, *χalavdo*, soldier.

χaláli (glossed), howling. Perhaps a misunderstanding for *χala(s) le(s)*, eat him. See note in Text II. (c), but cf. Rum. (vulgar) *hálálae*, noise; Rum. *oláldi*, to howl.

χalardo, eaten out. *Muro tar χalardo ando*, my back tooth has a cavity.

haljov-, to understand. *Tši haljovela*, he does not understand. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 224; Mik., vii. 5.

hampe (glossed), I arose. See note on Text III. (e).

χanamik, one's child's parent-in-law. Pl. *χanamitši*. The parents of a married couple are *χanamik* to each other. *Astaras χanamitši*, we will betroth our children. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 300; Mik., vi. 26 translated 'friend,' 40; vii. 60. Miklosich says 'dunkel,' but Mr. Gilliat-Smith reports that the word is Armenian, used by the people but considered unliterary.

χanir-, to tin, to coat the inside of a vessel with tin. Probably of Romance origin, cf. Portuguese *estanhir*; Rum. *staniol*, tin-foil.

χar, valley. Mik., v. 25; vii. 61.

χaranó, modest, humble, retiring. Paspatis, 305 *kharnó*. Cf. Gilliat-Smith's S. Luke, v. 3, *χαῖρι*, a little, i. 48 *χarné*, humble, iii. 5, *kaχarnjoven*, they shall be brought low. Mik., vii. 62 *charno*.

χarkúno, coppersmith. Mik., v. 25.

χasar-, to lose. *χasado* (for *χasado*), dropped, broken. *χasajlo*, lost. Mik., ii. 33; v. 25; vii. 62.

χatšer-, to burn. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 234; Mik., vii. 60.

hatšjov-, to understand. *Hatšjovesa*, you understand. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 31; Mik., vi. 26; vii. 60.

χatškiré, thrown. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 224.

χel-. See *χli-*.

χera, legs. Pott, ii. 162 *charr*; Mik., vii. 55 *ger*.

χiba, in vain. The word was glossed 'sans doute.' Cf. Wlislöcki, *hiaba*, in vain. Hungarian *hiába*. Cf. *ivje*.

χindo, befouled. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 224. See *χli-*.

χitaj, China. Rum. *Chitaiu*.

χli-, *χel-*, cacare. *Žala te χliel*. *χelav mange*. Mik., v. 25; vii. 63. See *χindo*.

χoxav-, to deceive. *Na χa punre, χoxavesa*, don't eat legs [of fowl, etc.], you will tell lies. Said to child. Mik., v. 25; vi. 26, 40; vii. 63.

χolba, *wolba*, a pint, litre. Rum. *halbă*, a glass of beer. Cf. Servian *holba*, German *Halbe*. Mik., vi. 40.

χolevi, choleric. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 224.

χoli, anger. Mik., ii. 28; v. 25; vi. 26, 40; vii. 63.

χολjibé, anger.

χολová, stockings. Mik., vii. 64.

χοραχaj, Turks. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 224; Mik., vii. 64. Cf. Mik., ii. 27 *chorachaí*, 'Regenbogen.'

χοραχano, Turkish, Mohammedan. Mik., vi. 40; vii. 64.

hramisar-, *hramov-*, to write. *Hramisarel*, he writes. *Hramól*, he writes. *Hramón amenge*, write to us (Imperative plural).

The use of a passive stem is curious. See *ghramisar-*.

χramome, filed. This is not from *gand-*, to comb, but it is not very likely to be the same as Mik., v. 24 *hramumí*, written, though both are participles in *-μενος*.

χyu, a small hole. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 47 *χaw*; Mik., ii. 26, 45 *hév*; v. 26; vii. 62. Cf. *gropa*.

huk-, to climb up. Mik., vii. 65 *χut*. Cf. *khod-*.

χulaj, patron de chevaux. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 224; Mik., ii. 30; vii. 65.

huli-, to get down. *Hulas tele*, we disembark. *Hulistem tele*, we disembarked. Mik., v. 24; viii. 89 *uylí*.

χumer, bullet of dough put into soup, macaroni. Mik., ii. 45; v. 25; vi. 40; vii. 64.

χur-, to fly. Mik., viii. 89 *uri*.

χurdo, little. *zahro χurdo*, soft sugar. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 224; Mik., v. 25; vii. 65.

χsbé, food. See *χabé*.

hértija, paper. Rum. *hártie*. Mik., v. 24.

hértjitsa, little paper, note.

i (article). See *o*.

i, also. Cf. *vi*, *je*.

ime, lo! *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 232. A ghost-word for *i me*, I also.

is-, to be. See the Grammar. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 32; Mik., v. 26; vi. 10, 26, 41, 50, 53, 56; vii. 66.

isola, island. Probably picked up in Italy lately. The Rum. word is *insulă*.

ito, hot (spiced). Mik., vii. 69, with one example only, *jito grast*, a swift horse. He adds 'Das seltene Wort mag als zweifelhaft angesehen werden.'

ivand, raw. Mik., vi. 26 *ivando*. See *biwand*.

ivend, *wend*, winter. *Po ivend*, in the winter. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 6; Mik., ii. 27; v. 26; vi. 10, 26, 39, 41, 50; vii. 67.

ivje, gratis. Mik., v. 27 *jivé*, 'vergebens.' See *hiaba*.

izlas, a common. Rum. *islaz*.

izr-, to tremble, shiver. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 36 *zird-*. Mik., v. 26 ; viii. 7 *lisdra*.

jag, fire. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 73 ; v. 32 ; Mik., ii. 25, 34, 36 ; v. 26 ; vi. 10, 27, 41, 50, 56 ; vii. 67.

jageri, gun. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 229 ; Mik., vi. 36 *agali*.

jak, jakh, eye. Pl. *jaka, jakhá*. The plural is used beside the Russian *otški* for 'spectacles.' *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 46 ; iv. 73 ; Mik., ii. 25, 34, 37 ; v. 26 ; vi. 10, 27, 41, 50, 53 ; vii. 67.

je, verily, too, also. *Je me*, I too. Rum. (interjection) *i*, indeed ! Cf. Constantinescu, p. 107, *i, me* ; 109, *ai i le palorosa*. See Mik., ix. 23 ; and, in this vocabulary, *i, vi*.

jeagoula, eels. Perhaps cf. Latin *anguilla* through some Rumanian form, or Mik., vi. 27 *jekhána*, snake.

jefta, seven. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 47 ; v. 30 ; Mik., ii. 29 ; v. 27 ; vii. 52.

jek, jekh, ek, one. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 47 ; v. 30 ; Mik., ii. 24, 29 ; v. 27 ; vi. 10, 41 ; vii. 68.

jilo, žilo, soul, heart. *Lela mo jilo*, he will take my heart. Said by a child who was afraid of being photographed. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 117 ; ii. 47 ; iv. 229 ; v. 32, *julo* ; Mik., ii. 25, 34, 46 ; v. 27 ; vi. 10, 41 ; vii. 69.

jišto, jisto, cauldron. Hungarian *üst*.

již, yesterday. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 5 ; Mik., ii. 27 ; v. 27 ; vi. 10 ; vii. 66.

jərtisar-, to excuse. *Jərtisar*, excuse me, I beg your pardon. Rum. *țerta*. Mik., v. 27. Cf. Borrow's *artav*.

ka, to, at. *Zalo ka thagari*, he goes to the king. *Ka misméri, k'sl misméri*, at noon. *K'sl dui*, at two o'clock. *Ko rat*, at night. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 47 ; Mik., ii. 34 ; v. 27 *kaj* ; vi. 11, 27, 54 ; vii. 81.

ka, for, because. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 31 *gar* ; Mik., v. 33 ; vii. 69.

ka (sign of the future). See *kam-*.

kada, hither.

kaditi, kadeti, kadetji, kadjiti, barrel. Rum. *cada*.

kado, kada, this. Fem. *katja*. *Kadalesko*, of this one. Mik., v. 27 ; vii. 70.

kai, to the (fem.), scil. *ka i*.

- kaj*, peditum inauditum. Cf. Mik., ii. 66 *khan* 'Bauchwind'; Paspatis, 263 *kan* 'puanteur.'
- kaj* (used before verbs both Present and Past, apparently in poetry only. Its exact force is unknown).
- kaj*, *ke*, who, whose. *O manuš kaj si le star bare kekavia*, the man whose are the four big kettles. *Žulja ke miš khandela*. Mik., v. 27; vi. 27, 41; vii. 69.
- kaj*, where. *Kaj sikilan Romanes*, where did you learn Romani? *J. G. L. S.*, v. 31; Mik., ii. 34, 36; v. 27; vi. 11, 27, 41, 50; vii. 69.
- kajna*, *khajna*, hen. Rum. *gđindă*. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 32; Mik., ii. 25, 34, 37; v. 28; vi. 11 *kachni*, 27, 50, 53; vii. 70.
- kakavaro*, *kakavero*, kettle mender.
- kakavi*, *kekavi*, *kškavi*, kettle. Mik., v. 28; vi. 41, 50, 53; vii. 70.
- kakavitsa*, *kškavitsa*, tea-kettle.
- kakluše*, whooping-cough.
- kako*, uncle. Voc. *kako*. *O kako Woršo*, uncle Woršo. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 47; Mik., v. 28; vi. 11, 41, 53; vii. 70.
- kako*, this. Mik., v. 28; vii. 71.
- kaliar-*, to blacken. Mik., vii. 71.
- kalo*, black. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 47; v. 32; Mik., ii. 27, 36; v. 28; vi. 11, 27, 41, 53; vii. 71.
- kaltse*, *kalzi*, trousers. Rum. *călfun*, stocking. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 47; iv. 224; Mik., ii. 36; iii. 39; vi. 41, 53.
- kam-*, to wish, want. Also used as sign of the future before other verbs in the forms *ka*, *kam*. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 32; Mik., ii. 28, 36; v. 28; vi. 11, 27, 41, 53; vii. 71.
- kamado*, *komado*, comrade. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 224.
- kamitš*, cane, bamboo. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 224.
- kamni*, gravida. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 224; Mik., v. 28; vii. 77.
- kan*, ear. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 47; iv. 73; Mik., ii. 25; v. 28; vi. 11, 27, 41, 50, 53; vii. 72.
- kana*, *kano*, when. *Kana trades mangš lil*, when you send me a letter. *Kana-godi*, whenever (see *godi*). *J. G. L. S.*, v. 32; Mik., v. 28; vi. 11, 27, 41. See *akana*.
- kangeri*, church. Mik., ii. 28, 34, 36; v. 28; vi. 11, 27, 41, 50; vii. 73.
- kangli*, *kangri*, comb. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 224; Mik., vii. 54.
- kantš*, *khantš*, nothing. Rum. *căncău*. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 224; Mik., ii. 36; v. 28; vii. 73, s.v. *kanek*.
- kantši*, *khantši*, not at all. Mik., v. 28; vi. 27. Cf. *kantš*.
- kar*, penis. *Dilo si o Baloka*; *χal pesko kar o Baloka*. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 47; Mik., vi. 27; vii. 73.

karandáš, pencil. Russian.

karavana, wagon. Rum. *caravană*.

karfin, nail, rivet. Pl. *karfia*. Used by some families instead of *kotšak* for 'button.' *J. G. L. S.*, v. 31; Mik., ii. 37; v. 29; vi. 42; vii. 74.

karija. See *kerá*.

karing, this way. *Karing ke žas*, are we going this way? Mik., v. 29; vi. 27; vii. 74; viii. 57.

karta, card. Rum. *carte*, book.

kasavo, *kasao*, such. Mik., vii. 11, s.v. *aso*; and cf. Mik., xii. 5, § 4.

kasuto, *kasutjo*, *kašuko*, deaf. Mik., ii. 36; vi. 41; vii. 74.

kaš-prung-witzia. This remarkable compound from Text iv. (*d*) may mean 'young tendrils of a tree.' Rum. *prunc*, infant; *viřă*, vine-shoot.

kašt, *kaš*, wood, tree. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 73; v. 32; Mik., ii. 25, 34, 36; v. 29; vi. 11, 27, 41, 50, 54, 56; vii. 74.

kaštan, chestnut. Rum. *castan*.

kaštuno, wooden. Mik., v. 29; vi. 27, 41, 50.

kašuko. See *kasuto*.

kat, shears. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 224; Mik., vi. 54; vii. 75.

katanó, soldier. See *kstana*.

kátar, from. *Kátár*, hence, whence. *Puš kátar o Anton*, inquire of Mr. Winstedt. Mik., ii. 22; v. 29; vi. 11, 27, 41; vii. 75; ix. 21. Miklosich gives *kátar*, whence, and *katár*, from; but the usage of our dialect is beyond doubt. The first and last references are of most interest in this connexion.

kathé, *katé*, *kati*, here. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 224; v. 31; Mik., v. 29; vi. 27, 41.

katja. See *kado*.

katka, this way. *Žas katka*, let us go this way.

katki, here. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 224.

katrintsa, apron. Rum. *catrintă*. Mik., v. 29.

katuno, ? cap. Probably a misunderstanding for 'cotton.' Cf. the next word.

katsna, tent. *Katsnende*, in the tents. Rum. *cătun*, hamlet, according to Mik., v. 29, but really Mod. Gk. *κατούνα* (Paspatis, p. 273).

kava, this. Mik., vi. 27, 41.

kazáno, a still. Rum. *cazan*, caldron.

kazom, how many? *Kazom žene si katí*, how many people are here? Mik., vi. 41; vii. 75.

ke, who, whose. See *kaj*.

keatro, theatre. Rum. *teatru*.

kekavi, kettle. See *kakavi*.

ker-, to do, make. *Sode kerel*, what does it come to (cost)? *Kerelas*, he was making. *Kerdel mato*, he acts as a drunken man. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 47; v. 31; Mik., ii. 28, 34; v. 33; vi. 12, 24 *čer*, 37 *čer*, 51 *čer*; vii. 75.

kera, *keria*, *karija*, top-boots. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 6; iv. 73, 224; Mik., ii. 34, 36; v. 30; vi. 24 *čerja*.

kerjatso, prison. Diminutive of *kher*, house, *q.v.*

ketane, together. The more usual expression is *dui* (*trin*, etc.) *žene*. The logical distinction between these, one referring to place, the other to number, appears not to be observed strictly. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 32; Mik., viii. 80, s.v. *than*.

khak, armpit. I infer this from a note sent me that reads *skhak*. See *tak*.

kham, sun. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 32; Mik., ii. 27; v. 29; vi. 12, 27, 41, 50; vii. 77.

khand-, to stink. Mik., v. 28; vi. 11; vii. 77.

khantš. See *kantš*.

khas, hay. Mik., v. 29; vi. 11, 27, 41, 50; vii. 78.

khas, cough. Mik., ii. 47; vii. 62.

khel-, to play, dance. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 32; Mik., ii. 28; v. 33; vi. 37 *čel*, 54; vii. 78.

khelimos, dancing.

khelipé, fun.

kher, *khər*, house. *Khərər*, at home. *Kherjatso* (diminutive) prison. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 47; v. 32; Mik., ii. 26, 34, 36; v. 30; vi. 12, 24 *čer*, 37 *čer*, 51 *čer*, 54; vii. 79.

khod-, *khut-*, to climb up to. Mik., v. 25 *chut'*; vi. 26; vii. 65 *χud-*, erreichen. Cf. *huk-*.

ki, it is. A variant of *si*, heard once.

kila, ?kilogramme. See Text iv. (e). Rum. *chilo*.

kilelohasi, big hotel. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 224.

kin-, to buy. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 31; Mik., vii. 83. See *tjin-*, *tšin-*.

kirad-, to cook. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 225. This is a re-formation from the participle, wrong in theory no doubt but in practice quite frequent in this dialect. Cf. s.vv. *makh-*, *mar-*, *puter-*, *rakl-*. See grammar, III. § 6 (last paragraph). Perhaps *kerdel* (see *ker-*), which I have taken for a passive, is another instance. See *kiriav-*.

kiral, kjiral, cheese. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 225; Mik., ii. 36; vi. 6, 38, 54.

kiriav-, tjir-, to cook. *Tši kamel te kiriavel*, she doesn't like to cook. Mik., ii. 28; v. 30; vi. 24 *čirav*, 38 *čirav*; vii. 83.

kirivo, kirvo, tirivo, godfather; also apparently a co-godparent; thus a child's godmother will speak of the child's godfather as *mešo kirivo*. It may be noted that in the view of the Church (both Eastern and Western) a spiritual relationship is set up between those who answer for the same child. Mik., v. 63; vi. 34; vii. 84.

kirveli, present given by godfather.

kišaj, sand. Mik., ii. 26, 30; vi. 50.

kjuštik, belt, girdle. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 47; Mik., v. 32; vi. 28; vii. 84.

kljašta, tongs. See *glašto*.

ko. See *kon*.

ko. See *ka*.

kodo, that. Fem. *koda*. Pl. *kudala*. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 225; Mik., ii. 34, 36; v. 30; vii. 85.

kokalo, bone. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 47; Mik., ii. 25; v. 30; vi. 42, 54; vii. 85.

koko, this. *Kokojesko*, some of this. Mik., ii. 34 *kukó*, 'jener,' *kukój*, 'dieser'; vii. 88.

kolatje, cakes. Rum. *colac*, long loaf. Mik., v. 30; vi. 27.

kolín, breast, upper part of the chest. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 47; v. 31; Mik., ii. 34; v. 30; vi. 27, 42, 54; vii. 85.

kólino, a generation. Slavonic. Cf. Russian *koljéno*, knee, used also for 'generation.'

kolumpilje, potatoes. Hungarian *kolompire*. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 225; v. 31; Mik., vi. 27, 42.

komado. See *kamado*.

kombo, knot. Pl. *komburia, kombura*. Hungarian *gomb*, Mod. Gk. *κόμπος*. Mik., ii. 44 *gombo*.

komora, room. Rum. *cămară*. Pott, ii. 105 *cumorra*; Mik., v. 33.

kompania, company. Rum. *companie*. Mik., v. 32.

kon, ko, who. *O raj kasko si o phuv*, the gentleman who owns the land. Mik., ii. 36; v. 31; vi. 12, 27, 41; vii. 86. Miklosich says (xii. 6) that it is used for plural as well as singular.

kongralo. In the phrase *balo kongralo*, a hedgehog.

konik, any one. Probably only used with a negative. *Naj konik khere*, there is no one at home. Mik., ii. 36; v. 31; vii. 73.

konikaj, anywhere.

- kontari*, weights. Mik., v. 33.
- kontari-*, *kontarisar-*, to weigh. *Tehara me kontariv*, to-morrow I will weigh. *Kontarisardem*, I weighed. See *kəntarisar-*.
- kontora*, office. Rumanian, but of recent adoption. The word may have been picked up by our Gypsies in Russia, Germany, or France.
- kopāl*, wooden mallet. Cf. Bulgarian *kopan*, 'battoir.' Wlislöcki, *kopal*, stick, staff. Mik., ii. 48.
- kopatš*, tree. Rum. *copaciŭ*, *copac*. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 7; Mik., v. 31; vi. 27, 42.
- kopidi*, chisel. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 225.
- kor*, *gor*, neck. Mik., ii. 34; v. 31; vi. 42; vii. 86.
- korko*, *korkoro*, alone. *Korko* is used for 'bachelor.' Mik., ii. 36; v. 31; vi. 28, 42; vii. 86.
- karlo*, throat. Pott, ii. 96 *karlo*; Mik., vii. 89.
- koro*, blind. Mik., ii. 36, 48; v. 31; vi. 54; vii. 86.
- koršo*, chimney. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 225; Mik., vi. 28.
- kos-*, to wipe, clean, brush. Mik., v. 31; vi. 41; vii. 80.
- kostali-*, to cost. *Kostalila*, it costs. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 232.
- kotar*. See *katar*.
- kothé*, there. Mik., v. 31; vi. 42. See also *okote*, *othe*.
- kotor*, a piece. Pl. *kotora*. The sing. also means 'rags.' Mik., v. 31; vi. 42; vii. 86.
- kotoro* (adj.), in pieces. *Kotoro zahro*, lump sugar.
- kotšak*, button. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 47; Mik., vi. 42; vii. 85.
- kovjartš*, crossed poles supporting the *berand* in a tent. Cf. Rum. *covergă*, 'Schutzdach der Jäger.'
- kovlo*, soft. *Kovlo vast*, 'soft hand,' a children's game, described by Mr. Winstedt, and well known by Russian children. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 225; Mik., vi. 28, 42; vii. 87.
- kowajtši*, blacksmith. Rum. *covaciŭ*. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 221; Mik., vi. 42; x. 10.
- kratš*, thigh. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 235. Rum. *craciŭ*, cf. Bulgarian *krak*, leg, foot; *kratšul*, leg of one's trousers.
- krestevetsa*, cucumber. Rum. *castravețe*. Mik., ii. 64; ix. 20.
- kretso*, curly. Rum. *creț*. Pott, ii. 122; Mik., v. 31.
- kris*, law court. *Bari kris*, high court. *Romai kris*, Gypsy tribunal. Modern Gk. *κρίσις*. Pott, ii. 123 *krisni*.
- krisako*, judge. Denominal adjective of *kris*.
- krišmaritsa*, female innkeeper. Cf. von Sowa, *Wörterbuch des Dialekts der deutschen Zigeuner*, 41, *kerčəmarica*.

krjašta. See *glašto*.

kudala. See *kodo*.

kui, elbow. Mik., v. 32; vii. 88 *kuni*.

kuki, doll. Cf. in Anglo-Romani, Smart and Crofton, 97 *koókelo*.

kul, dung. Mik., ii. 47; v. 32; vii. 80.

kunjaver, Scil. *k' enja var* in the phrase *kunjaver haj kunjaver*,
(may the curses return on you) nine times and nine again!

kur-, coire. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 225; Mik., v. 32; vii. 88.

kurko, Sunday, week. *Pomána šove kurkangi*, six-weeks' remembrance (of the dead). *J. G. L. S.*, v. 31; Mik., v. 32; vi. 12, 28, 42, 54; vii. 88.

kurotséra, clean. Rum. *curat*. Mik., ii. 34; v. 32.

kurvo, whore. Rum. *curvā*. Mik., v. 32.

kuš-, to beat. Mik., v. 32; vi. 42 *kuš*, 'raufen'; vii. 89.

kušma, inn. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 31; Mik., v. 33; vii. 89. Cf. *kriš-maritsa*.

kutš, dear, valuable. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 225; Mik., v. 32; vi. 28, 42; vii. 87.

kškavi, kettle. See *kakavi*.

kškavitsa, tea-kettle. See *kakavitsa*.

kšntarisar-, to weigh. Rum. *čdntāri*. Mik., v. 33. See *kšntari-*.

kšrko, bitter. Mik., ii. 47; v. 33; vi. 54; vii. 76.

kštana, *kotana*, *kotanó*, soldier. Rum. *catanā*. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 6; Mik., v. 29.

la-, to take. *Lias*, *lja*, *la*, he took. *Liné*, they took. *Ale*, take!
Le-ba, take! *J. G. L. S.*, v. 32; Mik., ii. 34, 36; v. 34; vi. 12, 28, 42, 54; viii. 3.

lagen, a swing. Rum. *leagān*.

lajbero, waistcoat. Rum., *laībār*.

lako, her. Mik., viii. 5.

lakro, her. Possessive adjective.

lango, lame. Mik., v. 34; viii. 5. See *angal*.

lants, chain. Rum. *lanť*. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 6; iv. 73; Mik., ii. 48; v. 34.

lašo, good. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 32; Mik., ii. 26, 36; v. 34; vi. 28, 42, 50, 54; viii. 4.

lašiar-, to mend. *Lašiarena la*, they are mending it. Mik., v. 34; vi. 28; x. 29.

lažav-, to be ashamed. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 32; Mik., viii. 4.

lažaverdo, *lujdžverdó*, shameful.

lažavo, shameful. *Lážave phenél*, he is saying shocking things.

Mik., v. 34; vi. 28, 42; viii. 4.

le (article). See *o*.

le (vocative particle). *Dade-le*, O father! Mik., ix. 20.

legume, fruit. Rum. *legumă*, vegetable.

lemta, lemon. Rum. *lemăiă*.

len, stream. Mik., ii. 30, 36; viii. 6.

lézno, *léžno*, cheap. Rum. *lesne*, easy.

lika, nits. Mik., viii. 6.

lil, document, letter, book, paper. Mik., ii. 34, 49; v. 34; vi. 12
lin, 28, 42, 50; viii. 7.

lim, mucus. Mik., ii. 49; viii. 7.

limdlo, snotty.

lndiko, a gravid uterus. Rum. *lindic*, clitoris.

lindralo, sleepy. Mik., v. 34; vi. 42 *lindri*, sleep; viii. 7.

linger-, to bring, carry. Mik., x. 29. See also *ninger-*.

lókes, slowly. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 32; Mik., v. 35; vi. 42 *loko*, light;
viii. 7.

lolo, red. Mik., ii. 27, 36; v. 35; vi. 12 *lovlo*, 28, 42, 54;
viii. 8.

lolodži, *loloži*. See *luludžo*.

lon, salt. Mik., ii. 27; v. 35; vi. 12, 42; viii. 8.

lovaria (meaning unknown). See Text I. (c).

love, money. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 32; Mik., ii. 37; v. 35; vi. 12, 28, 42;
viii. 9.

lovodi-, to praise. *Lovodil*, he praises. Probably from Rum.
lăuda, to praise. Cf. Mik., v. 36.

lovoritsa, *lovor*, little coins, small change. See *love*.

luja, Monday. Loc. *lučni*, on Monday. Rum. *lunǎ*. *J. G. L. S.*,
New Series, ii. 6; v. 33; Mik., v. 35.

luljava, pipe. Rum., *lulea*. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 7 *lužava*;
Mik., ii. 27 *ljuljádǎ*, 34 *leáva*; v. 36 *láva*; x. 6 (Hungarian
Romani), *lulava*. The suffix *-ava* is originally the Rumanian
feminine article, a postponed, and linked to loan-words end-
ing in *a* by means of a 'Hiatus aufhebender' *u* (=v). Cf.
Rum. *basmáua*, cloth, from Turkish *basma*.

luljavitsa, little pipe.

luludžo, *lolodži*, *loloži*, flower. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 48;
iv. 225; Mik., ii. 25; v. 35; vi. 28, 42; viii. 9.

luludžoro, little flower.

lúme, *lúmia*, *lumǎj*, world. Rum. *lume*. Mik., v. 35.

lungo, long; length. Rum. *lung*. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 32; Mik., ii. 29; v. 36; vi. 28.

ma, but. *Ma lela vadra*, but he takes a bucket. Mr. Gilliat-Smith informs me that this is Rumanian from Turkish.

ma, not. Mik., vi. 13, 54; viii. 9. See *mašúkar*.

maxrimé, defiled, ceremonially unclean. *Naj laši: maxrimé*, it is not good: (it is) defiled. Mik., v. 36. Evidently a participle in *-μενος* from some loan-verb, but Miklosich's shot, Russian *maratj*, is rather wild. ? Turk. محرم.

madžarne (pl.), drunk. See *matjano*.

maj, *ma*, more. Rum. *mai*. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 47; iv. 225; v. 33; Mik., v. 36; vi. 28, 42, 54.

majla, sea. Rum. *mal*, shore. Mik., ii. 26 *mall*. Or cf. Mik., viii. 13 *mara*. See *mare*.

majo, May.

makés, oil, grease. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 225. This looks like present 2nd sing. of the verb.

makh, to grease, paint, waterproof. *Makhlo poxtan*, waterproof cloth. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 225 *makliava* (re-formed from participle); v. 33; Mik., v. 36; vi. 13; viii. 10.

malav-, to begin. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 33; Mik., v. 36; viii. 11; x. 29. Cf. Drindari *lamađ*, I begin, beside Mik., viii. 6, *lemav*, 'schlagen.'

mami, grandmother. Mik., ii. 26, 49, 63, 64, 66; and cf. v. 36; viii. 11.

mandžin, wealth. Mik., v. 37; viii. 12.

mang-, to beg, request. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 33; Mik., v. 37; vi. 13, 42; viii. 11.

manro (guttural *r*), bread. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 48; Mik., ii. 25, 34, 36; v. 37; vi. 13, 28, 42, 54; viii. 12.

manuš, *manus*, man. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 48; v. 33; Mik., ii. 34, 37; v. 37; vi. 29, 43, 50, 54; viii. 12.

manuškano, human.

mar-, to beat. *Mardel*, he beats (re-formed from participle). *J. G. L. S.*, v. 33; Mik., v. 37; vi. 29, 43; viii. 13.

mardoro, rouble, dollar. Cf. Dobrowolski (Russian *Romani*) *marde*, roubles. I take this for a participle of *mar*-, meaning the beaten, struck, stamped thing; so too Mik., viii. 13.

mardsi, Tuesday. Loc. *mardsini*, on Tuesday. Rum. *marŭt*. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 6; v. 33; Mik., v. 37 *marc*.

- mare*, sea. *Zukel maresko*, seal, sea-lion. Slavonic, found in Gk. Rum. and Spanish Romani. Rum. *mare*. Mik., ii. 26 *márja*; viii. 13 *mará*. See *majla*.
- marko*, postage stamp. Rum. *marčá*.
- mas*, meat. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 48; v. 33; Mik., ii. 25; v. 37; vi. 13, 29, 43; viii. 13.
- masek*, month. *Po masek*, by the month. Mik., viii. 14.
- mašárika*, seagull. Explained as from *mašo*, fish, because it eats fish. For the termination cf. *tsaparika*.
- mášina*, *mášuna*, lucifer match.
- maškar*, among, between. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 33; Mik., ii. 36; v. 37; vi. 29; viii. 14.
- maškar*, *maška*, waist. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 48; Mik., ii. 27; v. 37.
- maškari*, *maskari*. They do not use this, but say it is a *Sinte* word for *De le Devleskeri*, Mother of God, the Virgin.
- mašo*, fish. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 73; v. 33; Mik., ii. 25, 36; v. 37; vi. 13, 28; viii. 10.
- mašúkar*, go on! do not stop! Said to one reciting a *paramitš*. Apparently an instance of *ma* with the imperative, which is not otherwise used in this dialect. See *adžukar-*, and cf. Mik., viii. 9.
- mášuna*. See *mášina*.
- matjano*, drunkard, contrasted with *mato*, drunk. Cf. *madžarne*.
- mato*, drunk. Mik., v. 37; vi. 43; viii. 14.
- matšjov-* *matjov-*, to get drunk. *Pili, matili, haj marde pe*, they drank, got intoxicated, and fought one another. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 225; Mik., v. 37.
- mátšwan*, a Servian Gypsy.
- me*, I. Acc. *man*. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 33; Mik., ii. 24; v. 38; vi. 13, 29, 43, 50, 54; viii. 14.
- mek-*, to let, allow. *Mekél*, it is allowed. *Meg me*, let me! *J. G. L. S.*, v. 33; Mik., ii. 34; v. 38; vi. 29, 43, 54; viii. 19.
- melalo*, black, dirty. *Melalo si o pai adadjes*, the sea is muddy to-day. Mik., v. 38; viii. 15.
- memeli*. See *momeli*.
- memúji*, monkey. Mik., ii. 49; vi. 28; viii. 10.
- mer-*, to die. Mik., v. 38; vi. 13, 43; viii. 15. See *mulo*.
- meri-*, to win (a game). *Meril o Woršo*, *Woršo* wins. Cf. *Diez, Romance Dictionary*, *merir*, to pay, recompense. I suspect,

however, that the MS. note has been misread, or the word misheard: read *neril* from Hungarian.

mia, a thousand. Pl. *mi*. Rum. *mie*. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 48; Mik., ii. 29; v. 38; viii. 16.

milaj, summer. *Po milaj*, in summer. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 6; Mik., ii. 27; v. 38; vi. 29, 43, 50, 54 *nilaj*; viii. 25 *nilaj*.

miljone, million. Rum. *milion*.

mingi, ball, marble. Rum. *minge*.

mintš, *mindž*, *miš*, pudendum muliebre. *Miš* is the usual form.

Never used like *bul* with *dava*. *Me xañ lakri mindž*. *Zulia ke miš khandela*. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 48; iv. 226; Mik., viii. 16.

mira, astonishment, Holy Wafer. *Mira mangi*, I wonder. Rum.

mira. Rum. *mir*, Holy Oils. Cf. Mik., v. 38, *miri*, to wonder.

miro, *muro*, *mšro*, *mo*, my. *Miro* is rare. *J. G. L. S.* v. 33; Mik., v. 39; vi. 13 *mindro*, 14 *mro*, 29 *mnró*, 50; viii. 17.

misali, table. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 226; v. 33; Mik., ii. 34; v. 38; viii. 16.

mismeri, *mizmeri*, noon. *Pala mismeri*, in the afternoon. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 33; Mik., v. 38; vi. 29, 43; viii. 17.

misto, *mišto*, *mistož*, well. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 33; Mik., ii. 36; v. 39; vi. 14, 54; viii. 17.

miš. See *mintš*.

mo. See *miro*.

mošto, chest, large box, coffin. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 219; Mik., vi. 14, 29; viii. 18 *mosto*.

mol, wine. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 48; v. 33; Mik., ii. 25; v. 39; vi. 29, 43, 50, 54; viii. 18.

molitva, prayer. Rum. *moliftva*. Cf. Mik., vi. 29 *moli*, to ask.

moliva, lead. Mik., ii. 27; vi. 50; viii. 18 *moliš*.

moloti, *moljati*, wine. Diminutive of *mol*. Vaillant, 369 *moléti*.

momeli, *memeli*, candle. Pl. *momelia*. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 33; Mik., v. 39; vi. 14, 29, 43, 50; viii. 18.

mor-, to rub. Mik., viii. 19. Cf. *murav-*.

moro, comrade. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 226.

mortši, *mutši*, skin, leather. *Fabrika mortšengi*, leather factory. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 48; Mik., ii. 25; v. 39; vi. 14, 29, 43; viii. 18.

moto-, *muto-*, *motin-*, *motar-*, *motardjov-*, to relate, say, speak. *Motav*, I will relate. *Mutodja*, he related. *So mot'ros*, what do you say? *Moto*, relate! *J. G. L. S.*, v. 33; Mik., vi. 43; viii. 19 'Das Wort ist dunkel.'

- mudar-*, *mudarak-*, to kill. Mik., ii. 28; v. 39; vi. 14, 29, 43; viii. 20 *murdal*. See *murdar-*.
- mui*, face, mouth. Dat. *moste*. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 48; iv. 73; Mik., ii. 25, 37; v. 39; vi. 14, 29, 43, 50; viii. 19.
- muial*, from opposite. *Me dem les muial*, I upset it. From *mamuial*. Mik., viii. 19, s.v. *muj*. Paspatis, 347.
- mulo*, dead. Participle of *mer-*. Mik., ii. 37; v. 39; vi. 43, 54.
- mult*. See *de mult*, and cf. Mik., v. 39.
- mungaretso*, donkey. Rum. *măgăriță*. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 226; Mik., ii. 25; v. 36; vi. 28.
- murav-*, to perform one's toilet. *Muradje les*, they shaved him. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 226; Mik., viii. 19. See *mor-*, and cf. *rum-*.
- murdar-*, to kill. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 226; v. 33. See *mudar-*.
- muro*. See *miro*.
- mus*, *musa*, must. *Musa te del*, he must give. Mik., v. 40 (where he derives the word from Little Russian); vi. 14.
- muskat*, muscle, biceps. Cf. Mik., viii. 20 *musi*. I cannot explain the termination, but cf. Polish *muszka*.
- mustátša*, *muštrjats*, moustache. Rum. *mustață*. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 48; Mik., ii. 37; vi. 43.
- muštika*, *muštoka*, *muštaka*, *muštuko*, cigarette-holder. Rum. *muștuc* from German *Mundstück* (? by way of some Slavonic tongue).
- mutar-*, to micturate. *Žala te mutarel pe*. Mik., viii. 21.
- muto-*. See *moto-*.
- mutras*, face, mouth. Rum. *mutră*.
- mutši*. See *mortši*.
- múts*, *mutsa*, cat. Rum. *mîță*. Mik., ii. 25; v. 40.
- mšro*. See *miro*.

- na*, not. The word is used (1) in dependant clauses: *te na len man*, lest they take me. In main clauses irregularly instead of *tši*, as in *na dav*, I will not give. (2) in prohibitions: *na ker les*, don't do it. There seems to be one instance of the preservation of *ma* in prohibitions (see *mašúkar*). See the Grammar, iv. § 6. Mik., ii. 34; v. 40; vi. 14, 43; viii. 21. See *naj*, *nas*.
- nais*, *naiš*, *nájis*, thanks. *Nais le Devleske*, thank God. *Naiš tuke*, thank you. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 48; iv. 226; v. 33; Mik., v. 40; vi. 43; viii. 21. Only found in Rumanian Romani, and of unknown origin.

naj, finger, top of finger (not 'nail'). *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 48 ; Mik., ii. 34 ; v. 40 ; vi. 29, 43, 50, 54 ; viii. 21.

naj, is not. *Naj ma*, I have not. *Naj konik khere*, there is no one at home. See *na*, *nás*.

nájka, brother-in-law! Form of address used by a wife to her husband's brother. Cf. *šugoro*. Rum. diminutive of *nana*, aunt.

najuv-, to swim. *Me žanaš te najuvaš*, I know how to swim. *Najilem haj šudrilem*, I went swimming and caught a chill.

J. G. L. S., v. 33 ; Mik., v. 40 ; vi. 43 ; viii. 22 *nand*.

nak, nose. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 73 ; Mik., ii. 25, 34, 37 ; v. 41 ; vi. 14, 29, 43, 50, 54, 56 ; viii. 22.

nak-, to lose. Mik., v. 41 ; vi. 43 ; viii. 22 *nak*, to pass.

nangoro, naked. Mik., ii. 36 ; v. 41 ; viii. 22.

nas, was not. Mik., v. 41. See *na*, *naj*.

nasfalo, *nasvalo*, sick, ill. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 226 ; v. 33 ; Mik., v. 41 ; vi. 14, 29 ; viii. 23.

nasti, it is impossible. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 33 ; Mik., vi. 43. See *ašti*, *dašti*.

nasul, bad. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 6 ; v. 33 ; Mik., ii. 26 ; v. 41.

nasvalibé, sickness. Mik., vi. 14, 29.

naš-, to run. *Te phabarol, našás*, if it catches fire, we shall run. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 33 ; Mik., ii. 28 ; v. 41 ; vi. 14, 29, 54 ; viii. 23.

nepes (a ghost-word translated 'now'). *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 226 taken from the story on p. 233: *iaš nepes čororí*: read *ašena pes*.

nevo, new. *nevo šon*, new moon. Mik., ii. 36 ; v. 41 ; vi. 29 ; viii. 24.

nikeluvimé, nickel-plated. Rum. *nikel*, nickel.

nikl-, to take out. *Niklava tut*, I will take (guide) you. Mik., ii. 26 *inklín* ; viii. 25 *nik*. See *snkli-*.

ninger-, to carry. See *linger-*.

nipote, grandson. Rum. *nepot*, grandson : nephew.

nitš, *nitši*, no, not. Used for 'not a bit of it,' in emphatic denial. *Vej nitš*, or not. Rum. *nič*, neither. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 33 ; Mik., v. 41 ; vi. 15, 29, 43 ; viii. 24 *ní*.

njantso, Germany. Rum. *neamț*, a German. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 11 ; Mik., ii. 65 *njamco* ; vi. 43 ; viii. 25 *ninco*.

numaj, *numa*, only. Rum. *numaš*. Mik., v. 41.

nskáží-, to be angry. Rum. *necáži*. Mik., v. 42.

o (article), the. Fem. *i*. Oblique *le*, *ol*. Mik., v. 42 ; vi. 15. See Grammar.

oxto, eight. *Oxto-war-deš*, eighty. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 48; v. 34; Mik., ii. 29; viii. 26.

okote, there. Mik., v. 42; vi. 27. See *kothe*, *othe*.

ongara. See *angrə*.

opral, up. *Ža amenge opral*, let us go on the upper deck. *Opral mas, telal mas, ande maškar mortši*, (riddle) a man on horseback. Mik., ii. 34; v. 42.

opre, up, upon, on. *Tsirde opre tje paputšia*, pull on your shoes. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 34; Mik., ii. 29; v. 43; vi. 30, 44; viii. 26.

orde. See *urde*.

othe, there. Mik., v. 43. See *okote*, *kothe*.

otškt, spectacles. Russian.

oži, dži, stomach (polite for *pər*). *Dukhal tšo oži*, does your stomach ache? (said to a child). *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 47; Mik., ii. 28, 34 *odt*; v. 42; vi. 54.

pabđj. See *phaboj*.

pagav-, pagar-. See *phag-*.

paho, baho, ice. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 222. Pott, ii. 344.

pai, water. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 226; v. 34; Mik., ii. 25, 34, 36; v. 43; vi. 15 (*pani*), 30, 44, 50, 54 (*panji*), 56. See *pani*.

paj. See *pe*.

pal, pala, after, back, behind. *Me kerav pal o vas*, I 'ring the changes,' lit. act behind the hand. *Pala mismeri*, in the afternoon. *Palal*, from behind. *Maj palal*, later on. Mik., v. 43; vi. 15, 30, 44; viii. 30. See *palpale*, *pale*.

palánka, penny (once 'sixpence'). Cf. Rum. *palangă*, partition. Cf. Vaillant, *pal*, centime. See *baraj*.

pale, again. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 28. See *pala*, *palpale*.

paler, park, estate. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 226.

palma, palm of the hand, box on the ear, buffet. Rum. *palmă*. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 48; Mik., v. 43; vi. 54.

palpale, afterwards, again, back, in return. *Angle palpale*, there and back (of a return ticket). Mik., ii. 27; v. 43; vi. 30. See *pala*, *pale*.

pandž, panž, five. *Panže beršengo*, five years old. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 48; v. 34; Mik., ii. 29; v. 43; viii. 31.

pani, water. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 48; iv. 226. See *pai*.

panro (guttural *r*), silken. See *pharuno*.

papus, grandfather. Mik., vi. 15; viii. 32.

paputse, paputso, doll. Rum. *păpușă*.

- paputš*, *paputši*, shoe. Pl. *paputšia*. Rum. *papuc*. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 6, 48; Mik., v. 44.
- paraxóda*, *paraxódo*, steamboat. Russian *paroxód*. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 226.
- paramitš*, *paramitši*, tale. Pl. *paramitše*. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 227; Mik., v. 44; vi. 44.
- paraštúti*, Friday. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 6; v. 28; Mik., v. 44; vi. 44.
- parav-*, to split. See *phar-*.
- parniar-*, to tin (scil. to whiten). Cf. *ḡanir-*.
- parno*, white. *Doparnó*, very white. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 48; Mik., ii. 27, 36; v. 44; vi. 15, 30, 44, 54; viii. 32.
- paruv-*, to change. Mik., v. 44; viii. 33.
- pasuria* (pl.), strides, steps. Rum. *pas*. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 10; Mik., vi. 54.
- paš*, half. *Paš manro*, half a loaf. Mik., v. 44; vi. 44. See *dópaš*.
- paša*, beside, near. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 28; Mik., ii. 34; v. 44; vi. 15, 30; viii. 34.
- pašler-*, to squat down, recline. Mik., vi. 15 *pašlo*, 44; viii. 34, s.v. *pašlo*. See *pušlo*.
- pašov-*, to approach. Mik., v. 44; viii. 34.
- pašrat*, *pašrajtji*, midnight. See *paš*, *dópaš* and *ratši*.
- pato*, bed. Rum. *pat*. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 227; Mik., ii. 34, 36; v. 44; vi. 51; viii. 35.
- patrádji*, Easter. Mik., ii. 53; vi. 44. Paspatis, 417.
- patša*, permission (so Lázó Deméter through the medium of French). Milanko gave Russian *drugoj mjesto*, another place, and added something about speaking to the police. The idea is that of a police permit to reside. Cf. perhaps Rum. *pact*, contract.
- patše*, peace. Rum. *pace*.
- patši-*, to permit. *Patšiv tu*, I permit you, reply to *jšrtisar*, excuse me!
- patšivalo*, trustworthy. Mik., v. 44; vi. 30.
- patšj-*, to believe. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 34; Mik., ii. 28; v. 44; viii. 35.
- pe*, at, on, in. With article *po* (masc.), *paj* (fem.), *pe*, *pel* (pl.). Also used as a distributive, *po jek*, one at a time. *Po dui*, two at a time. Rum. *pe*. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 28; Mik., ii. 29, 36; v. 44; vi. 15, 30, 44; viii. 50.
- pe*, sister. Voc. *peni*, *penie*. Pl. *peja*. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series,

- ii. 48; v. 34; Mik., ii. 26; v. 46; vi. 16, 44, 54; viii. 41
phen.
- peko*, cooked. Pl. *peke*. Mik., v. 45; vi. 30; viii. 36.
- per-*, to fall. *Pelim* I fell (ill). *J. G. L. S.*, v. 29; Mik., ii. 34; v. 45; vi. 15, 30; viii. 36. For the phrase in Text II. (a), *ža per tele*, glossed 'go to bed,' cf. Mik., ii. 28 *perteljaŭ*, 'ich lege mich.'
- per*, *p̄sr*, belly. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 48. Mik., ii. 35; v. 51; vi. 45, 55; viii. 37.
- perina*, pillow. Rum. *per(i)nă*. Pott, ii. 357; Mik., v. 45.
- pero*, *piro*, pen. Rum. *perie*, brush.
- pfund*, pound. German *Pfund*. See *pund*.
- phab-*, *phabar-*, *phabarjov-*, to burn, make a fire. *Phaból*, he is scorching himself. *Phabō'*, you are scorching yourself. *Te phabarol, našas*, if it catches fire, we shall run. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 34; Mik., v. 45; vi. 30, 44, 50; viii. 38.
- phabalin*, apple-tree. Mik., v. 45; vi. 16, 44.
- phaboj*, apple. Mik., ii. 34, 36; v. 45; vi. 16, 44; viii. 38.
- phag-*, *pagav-*, *pagar-*, *phang-*, to break. *Phago*, *phagado*, *phagilo*, broken. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 34; Mik., v. 45; vi. 44; viii. 38.
- phal*, plank, board. Pott, ii. 361; Mik., vi. 44; viii. 39.
- phand-*, *pandav-*, *pandar-*, to shut. *Pandavel*, it will be shut. *Te phandavel les*, to get (the consul) to imprison him. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 226; Mik., v. 45; vi. 30, 44 *phandado*, 54; viii. 39.
- phandibé*, imprisonment, prison. Mik., vi. 44.
- phang-*. See *phag-*.
- phar-*, *parav-*, to split. *Kotora paravel o zaro*, the sugar is broken in pieces. *Pharadi kskavi*, cracked kettle. *Pharadi*, a slit: used in describing an operation for appendicitis. *Pharadi* appears to be in use among the women with the meaning *mindž*; cf. Paspati, *paravdt*. *Pharadt* also means 'deflowered' (of a virgin). Mik., v. 46; vi. 30, 44; viii. 40.
- phar*, silk. Mik., viii. 40.
- pharo*, heavy, difficult, sorrowful, sad. Mik., ii. 29; v. 11; vi. 16, 30, 44, 50; viii. 40.
- pharuno*, silken. Mik., viii. 40. See *panro*.
- phen-*, to say. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 34; Mik., ii. 36; v. 46; vi. 16; viii. 41.
- phral*, brother. Voc. *phrala*. Voc. pl. *phralale*. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 48; v. 34; Mik., ii. 26; v. 49; vi. 16, 44, 55; viii. 43.

phurd-, to blow. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 34; Mik., v. 46; vi. 16, 31, 44; viii. 44.

phurdibé, lungs.

phurimata, old age. Mik., v. 47; xi. 7; xii. 6.

phurjov-, to grow old.

phuro, old (of persons). *J. G. L. S.*, v. 34; Mik., ii. 26, 35; v. 47; vi. 16, 31, 44; viii. 45.

phuv, *puv*, earth, ground. *Pe fatsa la puviatji*, on the face of the earth. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 227; v. 34; Mik., ii. 26, 36; v. 46; vi. 31, 44, 51, 55, 56; viii. 46.

pi-, to drink. *Piljem*, I have drunk. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 73; v. 34; Mik., ii. 24, 36; v. 47; vi. 16, 31, 44; viii. 46.

pibé, a drink. *Pimástši*, potable.

piperi, pepper. Rum. *piper*. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 227; Mik., vi. 45.

pir-, to walk. Mik., v. 46; vi. 16, 31, 44; viii. 42.

piramno, *pirano*, lover. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 227; Mik., v. 47; viii. 48.

pirango, barefoot. *Si but pirange ando Liverpool*, many go barefoot in Liverpool. Mik., viii. 47.

piro. See *punro*.

piro, pen. See *pero*.

pirome, (?) cracked. Past participle in *-μενος*, perhaps from Rum. *piráti*. Polaček said he thought it meant 'to clean a kettle by putting it on the fire': so, 'cleansed by fire.' Rum. *pirjoli*, to set on fire.

piškiri, towel. Paspáti, 439 *pishkúlia*, 'les franges du drap grossier de la tente.' Perhaps in our dialect a fringed towel.

pišli, stupefied, unconscious. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 227.

pišom, flea. Mik., ii. 54, 55; v. 47; vi. 45; viii. 54.

pišot, bellows. Mik., vi. 45; viii. 48.

pivlo, widower. Mik., viii. 43.

pješta, Budapest.

plai, mountain. Pl. *plaja*. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 227; Mik., ii. 26, 37; v. 47; vi. 31, 51.

platsa, camp. German *Platz*.

platše-, to give pleasure. *Platšajámo*, I will give pleasure: for *platšeari me*. (Similarly *ambolda me*, I will return; *tráda me*, I will send.) Rum. *plăce*. Cf. Constantinescu, Song 69 *placedal-ma*.

(*po*) reflexive pronoun. Once *pes* was used for the acc. pl. (cf. s.v. *nepes*), and *pestji* was once used where the sense requires

the plural, *pestji voja te kšren*, to do their pleasure. Ascoli, 108, and his *Studj Critici*, ii. 295.

po (distributive). See *pe*.

podo, bridge. Rum. *pod*. Mik., ii. 28, 34, cf. 54 'Hausboden,' v. 48.

pogano, unclean. See *bogonen*.

pogrebo, cellar. Russian *pogreb*. Cf. Rum. *pogrebanie*, funeral.

poharo, *poharho*, *porharho*, tumbler. Rum. *pahar*. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iv. 48; iv. 227; Mik., v. 43.

poxtan, tent-cloth, cloth. Mik., vi. 16, 45; viii. 50.

pologu, mosquito-curtain. Rum. *polog*, bed-tester, bed-curtain.

pomana, funeral feast. Rum. *pomand*, funeral feast; *pomeni*, to commemorate. Mik., ii. 28 (*Opfer*); v. 48 (*Almosen*).

pompa, pump. Rum. *pompǎ*.

poniava, carpet. The suffix *-ava* is used in *luljava* (q.v.). If it is not a suffix here, then cf. Russian *ponjava*, linen petticoat of peasant women, and Hungarian *ponyva*, tarpaulin.

porharho. See *poharo*.

pori, tail. Mik., ii. 34, 54; v. 48; viii. 51.

pormo, then, thereupon. Rum. *urmǎ*, step. Cf. Rum. *la urmǎ*, at last. Mik., ii. 28 *peúrma*.

positi, *positji*, pocket. *Positiako diklo*, pocket handkerchief. Mik., v. 50; viii. 51.

postáva, cashmere cloth. Rum. *postav*.

poša, necktie. Servian *poša*. Cf. Anglo-Rom. *pošnekus*.

poštin, fur-coat. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 48; Mik., ii. 34, 67; v. 49; vi. 31; viii. 52.

potr-, to open. See *puter-*.

potšin-, to pay. Mik., v. 49; vi. 16, 31, 45; viii. 50. See *putšin-*.

praço, sand. Slavonic. Mik., vi. 16; viii. 52.

prahosar-, to bury. Mik., v. 49.

prama, valuables. A word used by certain so-called 'Greek' Gypsies in South America. Greek *πράγμα*.

pras-, to mock, turn to ridicule, (hence) to banish, 'send to Coventry.' *Prasal*, *prasel*, he will banish. Paspatis, 445; Mik., viii. 52. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 290, 'Prasen (Beschimpfen) auf seine Tote, aus des Prasenden Frau—ohne Abwehr.'

prasaibé, banishment. Paspatis, 445; Mik., vi. 31.

prasamos, libel. Cf. Mik., vi. 31.

prasando, banished. In the Greek Romani of Paspatis the participle is *prasano*. The intrusive *d* in our form may be due to confusion with the gerund.

prasar-, to win.

prast-, to run. Mik., v. 49; vi. 16, 31, 45, 55; viii. 52.

prašaŭ, praškia, pl. *prašave*, ribs, hence 'heart' as the seat of the affections, stomach. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 48, where the editorial correction should be deleted. Paspati, 415 *pashavró*; Mik., v. 44 *pašvarú*; vi. 54; viii. 34 *pašavro*.

prezénto, a gift. Possibly picked up from English. I have only heard the word from Míloš Tšóron who feels some delicacy about direct begging, but gladly receives a coin under the fiction that he will shortly go and purchase with it *ek prezénto*.

prikasa, misfortune. Rum. (vulg.) *pricaz*, sorrow. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 29 *bregagki*.

prindžar-, *prindžav-*, *prižar*, to recognise. *Vo prinžavela tut*, he recognises you. *Kō khər prižardo*, at a house you know of. Mik., v. 50; vi. 45; viii. 53.

printšani, prinžane, eyebrows. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 227; Mik., v. 56.

proba, sample. Rum. *probă*. Mik., v. 50.

probitsa, small sample.

pruno, plum. Rum. *prună*. Mik., vi. 31, 45.

pujo, pujotsa, chicken. Rum. *puiș*. Mik., v. 50; vi. 31, 45, 51.

pulpa, thigh. Rum. *pulpă*, calf. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 48.

pund. See *pfund*.

punro (guttural *r*), *piro*, foot, leg. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 48; iv. 73; v. 29; Mik., ii. 24, 34, 37; v. 48; vi. 16, 31, 45, 51, 55; viii. 47.

purano, old (of things). Mik., ii. 36; vi. 45, 51, 55; viii. 53.

purimata. See *phurimata*.

purum, onion. Mik., ii. 53, 54, 66; vi. 31, 45; viii. 53.

pusav-, to prick. *Pusavel mšro prašaŭ*, it pricks my stomach. Mik., vi. 32, 45; viii. 45.

puš-, to ask. *Puš lestar*, ask him. *Puš katar o Anton*, enquire of Mr. Winstedt. Mik., ii. 35; v. 50; vi. 31, 44; viii. 43. See also *putš-*.

puška, gun. *Dav puška*, I shoot. Rumanian *pușcă*. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 227; Mik., v. 50; viii. 53.

pušlo, lying. *Pušlo ando pato*, lying on the bed. See *pašler-*.

pušumsko, woollen. Mik., v. 49 *pošom*, 'Wolle'; vi. 31 *pošom*, 45 *pošóm*; viii. 51.

puter-, *potr-*, *putr-*, *butar*, to open, untie. In Text III. (a) *te puterdaŭ trin komburia*, let me untie three knots, *puterdaŭ*

is a re-formation from the participle. Mik., v. 50; vi. 16, 32, 45; viii. 46; ix. 33.

putš-, to ask. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 227; v. 34. See *puš*-.

putšin-, to pay. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 227. See *potšin*-.

puv. See *phuv*.

pər. See *per*.

rai, lady. For *rani*. Mik., v. 51; vi. 17.

rai, the shaft or axle of a spit. See *busnja*. Mik., viii. 55 *rai*, s.v. *ran* 'Stab.'

raj, gentleman. *Ras*, properly the acc. sing., occurs once as nominative. *O raj o baro, raj baro*, policeman. Mik., ii. 35; v. 51; vi. 17, 32, 45; viii. 54.

rajkano, beautiful. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 230; Mik., v. 51.

raka, crab. Rum. *rac*. Mik., v. 52.

rakl-, to find. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 227. Re-formed from the participle. See *arakh*-.

raklo (m.), *rakli* (f.). *child*. *Rakloro* (diminutive). Mik., ii. 35, 37; v. 51; vi. 17, 51, 55; viii. 55.

rang-, to scratch. *Ranglim*, I scratched. Mik., ii. 55 *randel*; vi. 32 *rand*, 45 *rand*; viii. 55 *rand*.

rano, early. *Rantinko* (diminutive). Slavonic. Mik., vi. 45; viii. 56.

rašai, wife of a priest. Pl. *rašaia*.

rašaj, priest, schoolmaster. Pl. *raša*. Mik., ii. 28, 36; v. 52; vi. 17, 32, 51; viii. 56.

ratea, a duck. Rum. *rață*, Mik., ii. 25, 31, 35, 55; v. 51; vi. 51; viii. 54.

ratši, *ra'ji*, *rat*, *rjat*, night. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 34; Mik., ii. 27; v. 53; vi. 17, 32, 45, 51, 55; viii. 56. Cf. *arat*.

ratšiar-, to spend the night. Mik., v. 52.

retija, spirits. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 7; iv. 227; v. 34; Mik., vi. 32, 51. See *aratšia*.

rhil, peditum. Mik., v. 53; viii. 61.

rhing (masc.), old woman. Cf. Caccini, *I Romi*, page 20, *i rhing*, culo.

rhod-, *rod*-, *rhodin*-, to seek. *Rhodinel*, he seeks. *Rhoden butši*, they are seeking work. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 34; Mik., ii. 28; v. 52; vi. 17, 32, 45, 55; viii. 58.

rin, file. Mod. Gk. *ρίνιον*. Paspatis, *rin*, 'rabot.' Mik., vi. 45.

rjat. See *ratši*.

ro-. See *rov-*.

robo, slave. Pl. *robula*, *roburia*, glossed 'thieves.' Rum. *rob*, slave. Mik., v. 52.

roḡami, coat. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 73; Pott, ii. 271. Cf. Anglo-Rom. *roḡinja*, trousers.

roibé, weeping. *Roimasa*, with weeping. See *rov-*.

roj, spoon, shovel. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 73; Mik., ii. 35, 36; v. 52; vi. 17, 32, 45, 51, 55; viii. 58.

rojta, skirt. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 228. Cf. *rokie*.

rokie, dress, skirt. Rum. *rockie*. Mik., v. 52.

rom, man, Gypsy. Voc. *roma* and *a rom*. *Amare roma*, our tribe of Gypsies. *Xoraḡani rom*, Mohammedan Gypsies. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 73; v. 34; Mik., ii. 24, 35, 37; v. 52; vi. 17, 32, 45, 56; viii. 58.

romanes, in the Gypsy language. *Kaj sikilan romanes*, where did you learn Romani? *Hramosar vareso romanez* (from a letter dictated by a Gypsy. F. Poláček's spelling), write something in Romani. Mik., v. 52; vi. 51.

romano, Gypsy (adj.). *Romai kris*, Gypsy tribunal. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 73; Mik., v. 52.

romni, wife. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 49; iv. 73; Mik., ii. 24, 35, 37; v. 52; vi. 17, 32, 46.

róndžetu, thunder. Rum. *ronḡăi*, to crack.

roso, rose. Rum. *rosă*. In Text III. (e) *rosi* may be connected with this word, but it is not likely.

rota, wheel. Rum. *rota*. Mik., ii. 35, 36; v. 52; vi. 26, 46.

rov-, *ro-*, to weep. Gerund *roindo*, weeping. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 229; Mik., ii. 24, 35, 36; v. 53; vi. 17, 32, 46; viii. 59.

rovli, stick. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 49; iv. 73; Mik., ii. 25; v. 53; vi. 17, 32, 46; viii. 60.

rudisar-, to pray. Rum. *ruga*. Mik., v. 53.

rukḡ, tree. Known but not much used. Said to be *purano alav*. They insisted on the aspirate. Mik., viii. 59.

rum-, to shave. Poláček said *mur-* is only used for 'to clean.' See *mur-*.

rundži, big (of feet). A doubtful word; but cf. Mik., vi. 46 *renza*, Magen, from Rum. *rânză*.

rup, silver. Mik., ii. 27, 36; v. 53; vi. 32, 46, 51; viii. 60.

rupunia, whores. Perhaps Rum. *ruptură*, whore (lit. torn).

rupuno, of silver. Fem. *rupui*. Mik., v. 53; vi. 46.

rusália, Pentecost. Rum. *Rusališ*.

ruv, *ruw*, wolf. Mik., ii. 25; v. 53; vi. 17, 32, 46, 55; viii. 60.

- sa*, all. See *sar*.
- sabato*, Saturday. *Sabatoni*, on Saturday. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 6; v. 34; Mik., v. 54; vi. 46.
- sajbîro*, policeman. Probably a mishearing or misreading of *raj baro*. See *raj*. But cf. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 291 *Saibidjo*. Hung. *szái*, mug, mouth, and *biró*, judge, may be the source.
- sako*, each, every, all. *Sako djes*, for ever. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 34; Mik., viii. 61.
- salka*, willow. Rum. *salcie*.
- sangla*, apron. A doubtful word.
- sano*, *sando*, slim, slender. Mik., ii. 26; vi. 18, 32, 46; viii. 61.
- sap*, snake. Mik., ii. 25, 56, 65; v. 54; vi. 46, 55; viii. 62.
- sapui*, soap. Rum. *săpun*. Mik., ii. 56; v. 54; viii. 62.
- sar*, how? like, as. *Sar bušol*, how is he called? what is his name? *J. G. L. S.*, v. 34; Mik., ii. 35, 36; v. 54; vi. 18, 32, 46; viii. 62.
- sar*, *sor*, *sa*, all. Pl. *savore*. *O Freštik phendias but sastimas taks, e savorenge le kompaniake*, Freštik said much health to thee, and to all of the company. *Sa mari kompania*, all our company. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 34; Mik., ii. 24; v. 54; viii. 63.
- sar*, than. *Maj lašo sar . . .*, better than . . .
- saranda*, forty. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 49. Mik., ii. 29; viii. 62.
- sastarn*, iron. Mik., ii. 27; v. 54; vi. 32, 46, 51; viii. 70.
- sasto*, well, healthy. *Sasto sim, nais le Devleske*, I am well, thank God. Mik., v. 54; vi. 18, 32, 46, 55; viii. 70.
- sastimos*, health. *Pe sastimaste*, your health! *Sastimasa*, good-bye, lit. (go) with health. *Sastimensa*, good-bye to you (pl.). *Ža sastimasa*, good-bye. Mik., vi. 46.
- sastivasto*, healthy. *Sastivaste*, good-bye (pl.). Mik., viii. 95 s.v. *vesto*.
- sastjov-*, to get well. *Sastjol*, it will get well.
- sastruno*, of iron. Fem. *sastrui*. Mik., v. 54; vi. 32, 46, 51. See *sastarn*.
- savo*, which. *Savengo fabrika*, a manufactory of what sort of goods? Mik., ii. 35, 36; v. 54; vi. 18, 32, 46, 51, 55; viii. 63.
- savore*, all. Mik., viii. 63. See *sar*.
- seleno*, green. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 232; v. 35; Mik., ii. 27; v. 66; vi. 8, 48.
- semo*, *sjemo*, dear, beloved. *Sjemo si les te bešel kothe*, he likes sitting there. Perhaps from Rum. *seamă*, value. Cf. Mik., v. 54 *sama*, 'Rechenschaft, Acht.'

- sias*, health! Cf. the Zagundži *sias*, *siah*, said in drinking. It is a corruption of modern Greek εἰς γειάμ pronounced *isid*.
- sigo*, quickly. Mik., ii. 65; v. 57; vi. 18, 32, 46; viii. 64. Cf. *fuga*.
- sik-*, *sikjov-*, to show, teach, (passive) to learn. *Kaj sikilan Romanes*, where did you learn Romani? *J. G. L. S.*, v. 35
- tsigav-*; Mik., ii. 35; v. 54; vi. 18, 32; viii. 64.
- sinte*, German Gypsies. This word is not known by all; those who use it probably picked it up in Germany. Mik., viii. 65.
- sivo*, grey. Russian *sivi*.
- sjemo*. See *semo*.
- skafidi*, table, large silver tray. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 228; Mik., vi. 55.
- skala*, stair-case.
- skatolski*, *skatulka*, *skakulka*, *skutunka*, little box. Rum. *scatulcă*.
- skhak*. See *khak*.
- skornia*, boots. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 228; Mik., viii. 72.
- skripka*, fiddle. *Tši bašavaš skripkasa*, I don't play the fiddle. Rum. *scripkă*. Mik., v. 55.
- sluga*, servant. Rum. *slugă*. Mik., ii. 56; v. 56; viii. 66.
- služba*, service, employment. Rum. *službă*. Mik., v. 56.
- služin-*, to serve (in the army). Rum. *sluji*. Mik., v. 56; vi. 33; viii. 66.
- so*, what. *So te kerav*, what shall I do? *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 49; v. 35; Mik., ii. 36; v. 56; vi. 18, 33, 46; viii. 66.
- soba*, room. Rum. *sobă*, a stove; in Transylvania it means a room. It occurs also in Hungarian, meaning a room. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 35; Mik., vi. 33, 51. Constantinescu, p. 9, *ai te des yag le sobate*, and that you light the stove.
- sobolók*, rat. *Darajlim katar sobolok*, I was frightened at a rat. Rum. *sobol*, mole.
- sode*, how many? *Sode tšaso*, what is the time? Mik., v. 56. See *de*.
- sokro*, father-in-law. Rum. *socru*. Mik., x. 3.
- sor*. See *sar*.
- sosté*, drawers. Mik., ii. 35, 36, 56, 57; v. 56; vi. 33, 46, 55; viii. 67; *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 49.
- sóste*, *sóstje*, why? *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 228; Mik., viii. 66. Cf. *so*.
- sov-*, to sleep. *Sutia lasa*, he slept with her. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 35; Mik., ii. 24; v. 56; vi. 18, 33, 46, 55; viii. 67.
- spid-*, *spidav-*, to push. *Spidá*, push! *Te na spides*, please don't push. *Spidavel o pai*, the water is agitated (of the sea with foaming waves). Mik., v. 56; viii. 68.

- stadji*, hat. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 73; Mik., ii. 36 *stagí*; v. 57; vi. 18, 33, 51, 52; viii. 68.
- stakana*, beer-glass. Slavonic. Mik., v. 57; viii. 68.
- stato*, body. Rum. *stat*, stature. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 228.
- stérnitsa*, bug. Rum. *stelnița*.
- stingo*, left. *Pe stingo*, to the left. Rum. *stâng*. Mik., ii. 27; v. 57; vi. 46; viii. 69.
- stradža*, police. *Dine pe stradža ande Italia* (glossed), they were handed over to the Italian police. Rum. *strejăr*, constable. Mik., v. 57.
- strajno*, stranger. Constantinescu has *streino*.
- strimfa*, *strimfe*, stockings. German *Strümpfe*.
- strugoro*, bunch of grapes. Rum. *strugur*. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 228.
- suimos*, sewing. See *suv-*.
- suluma*, straw. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 7; iv. 73; Mik., ii. 26, 35; v. 57; vi. 33; viii. 69.
- sumerdži*, *sumsđži*, a pledge. Mik., viii. 65, *simadi*. Cf. *zumardi*.
- sumnakáj*, gold. Mik., ii. 27, 35; v. 56; vi. 51; viii. 68.
- sumnakúno*, golden. Mik., ii. 35; v. 56; vi. 51.
- suno*, dream. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 231; Mik., ii. 57; v. 56; vi. 33, 51; viii. 67.
- sunto*, holy, saint. *Sunto Del*, holy God. Mik., viii. 69 *svunto*.
- sutia*, past tense of *sov-*.
- suv-*, to sew. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 228; Mik., ii. 28; v. 57; vi. 18, 51.
- suw*, needle. Mik., ii. 27, 57; vi. 18, 46; viii. 69.
- svento*, holy. Mik., ii. 56; v. 55; viii. 69 *svunto*. See *sunto*.
- sveto*, holy. *Sveti duχ*, Holy Ghost.
- svirajtši*, musician. Servian *svirači*. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 221. Lázó Deméter told me this was not a *Romano alav* but Servian.
- šad-*. See *tšad-*.
- šaj*, it is possible. *Šaj te keraŭ*, I can do. *Šaj keren les*, they can do it. Mik., v. 58; vi. 33, 46, 51; viii. 70.
- šaj*, *šej*, *šij*, girl. Pl. *šaje*. *Tšumidja šea*, he kissed a girl. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 5, 46; iv. 73; v. 30; Mik., ii. 26, 36; v. 58; vi. 6, 24, 37, 49, 53.
- šatr*, tent. Pl. *šatre*. Rum. *șatră*. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 228.
- šavo*, *šaŭ*, *šo*, child. Pl. *šavé*. Diminutive *šavoró*. Voc. pl. *šavorale*. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 73; v. 35; Mik., ii. 26, 36; v. 58; vi. 6, 23, 37, 49, 53, 56; vii. 30.

šej. See *šaj*.

šel, a hundred. Pl. *šela*. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 49; Mik., ii. 29, 36, 57; v. 59; viii. 71.

šel, smallpox, vaccination marks, any kind of spots. *Paspati*, 533, *tchel*.

šelak, *šolak* (glossed) £100. Possibly a misunderstanding.

šelo, rope. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 228; Mik., vi. 46; viii. 71.

šeránd, feather bed. Mik., v. 59; vi. 19, 46, 55; viii. 71.

šerekano, many-headed.

šero, *šoro*, head. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 49; iv. 73; Mik., ii. 24, 35, 37; v. 60; vi. 19, 33, 46, 55; viii. 71.

šij, girl. Cf. Mik., v. 58, and see *šaj*.

šil, fever. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 35 *šil*, cold; Mik., v. 59; vi. 47; viii. 72.

šilálo, cold. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 228; Mik., ii. 28, 36, 57; vi. 19.

šin-. See *tšin-*.

šindo, Jew. Scil. circumcised. See *tšin-*.

šing, horn. Pl. *šinga*. Mik., ii. 25, 57; v. 59; viii. 72.

širikli. See *tširikli*.

škafo, cupboard. Russian *škap*.

šlagónta, solder. Russian *šlak*, dross. Polaček said the so-called 'Greek' Gypsies said *šlangonto*.

šo, six. See *šov*.

šo, lad. See *šavo*.

šogoro. See *šugoro*.

šok, cabbage. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 35; Mik., ii. 57; v. 58; vi. 33; viii. 70.

šol, whistle. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 228; Mik., viii. 72.

šon, *tšon*, moon, month. *Nevo šon*, new moon. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 73, 223; v. 35; Mik., ii. 27; v. 58; vi. 6, 24, 37 *čhon*, 38, 49; vii. 35.

šonúto, moonlight.

šor, beard. Generally used in the plural, *šora*. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 46; iv. 228; Mik., ii. 24; v. 58; vi. 37 *čhor*, 49, 53; vii. 36.

šor-, to pour. Mik., vi. 38; vii. 36.

šoro. See *šero*.

šošoj, hare (possibly rabbit). Mik., ii. 25, 31, 57, 65; v. 58; vi. 33, 46, 55; viii. 73.

šov, *šo*, six. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 49; Mik., ii. 29, 35, 37, 57, 65; v. 58; viii. 73.

šovori, girls. See Text iv. (*d*).

špenso, singlet, under-vest. Can this be English 'spencer'?

štala, stable. Hungarian *istálló*. *J. G. L. S.*, vi. 104.

- star, šta*, four. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 49; v. 35; Mik., ii. 29, 35, 37, 57, 65; v. 58; vi. 19; viii. 73.
- šud-*, to cast, throw, put. *I balval šudel o pai*, the wind tosses the sea. Mik., v. 59; vi. 24 *šud*, 38.
- šudrjov-*, to catch cold. *Najilem haj šudrilem*, I went swimming and caught a chill.
- šudro*, cold. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 228; v. 35; Mik., vi. 33, 46; viii. 74.
- šugoro, šogoro*, brother-in-law. Slavonic. Mik., vi. 33. Used by men only. See *najka*.
- šukár*, pleasant, nice. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 5; v. 35; Mik., ii. 35, 58; v. 59; vi. 19, 33, 46, 51, 56; viii. 74.
- šuklo*, sour. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 230. Mik., ii. 58; v. 59; vi. 33; viii. 75.
- šuko*, thin. Heard once as *šutjo*. *Mui Šuko*, Thin-face: a nickname. Mik., v. 59; vi. 19, 33, 46, 55; viii. 74. Cf. *šutjov-*.
- šulav-*, to sweep. *Te šulaves*, please sweep. Mik., v. 59; viii. 75.
- šun*. See *ašun-*.
- šuri*, knife. *χasa šuriasa, bi-šuriake*, we eat with a knife, without a knife. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 73, 228; Mik., ii. 25, 35, 37; v. 59; vi. 7, 24, 38, 51, 53; vii. 39.
- šutjov-*, to grow thin, become empty, run dry. *Vaj ti bótške šutilé*, are your casks run dry? *But šutilan tšo mui*, you've got very thin in the face. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 233; Mik., v. 59; vii. 39. See *šuko*.
- šovali*, broom. By metathesis from **šulavi*. See *šulav-*.
- šuvlo*, swollen. Mik., viii. 76.
- ta*. See *thaj*.
- ta* (particle added to the imperative). Mik., v. 60.
- taj*. See *thaj*.
- tajka*, good man! a form of address. Rum. (familiar) *taicǎ*, father.
- tak*, armpit. Mik., vii. 70 *kakh*. See *khak*.
- takhtaj*, cup. Mik., v. 60; vi. 33, 47, 55; viii. 77.
- tálaj*, beneath, under. Mik., v. 60. See *tele*.
- tale*. See *tele*.
- talíga*, wagon. Rum. *teleagǎ*. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 232.
- tan*, place. Mik., ii. 26; v. 61; vi. 47; viii. 80. See *ketane*.
- tar*, back tooth. *Muro tar χalardo ando*, my tooth is decayed. *J. G. L. S.*, vii. 57; Mik., v. 61; viii. 81.
- tar* (particle added to verbs of going). Mik., v. 60; vi. 47.

tasjov-, to sink, drown. *Tasjol o paraḡoda*, the steamer is sinking.
Mik., v. 60 ; vi. 47 ; viii. 77.

tatšimos, somnolence. Perhaps from Rum. *tăcea*, silence.

tazo, basin for washing in. Cf. Paspatis, 507 *tási*.

te, that, in order that, if. *Te žanav te tši bistarden romanes*, that I may know that you have not forgotten Romani. *Te aves kathé, motav tukš paramitše*, if you come here, I will relate stories to you. Polite requests are introduced by *te*. Thus *te šulavés*, please sweep. *Na spidá*, don't push: *te na spidés*, that you do not push (please, don't push). *J. G. L. S.*, v. 29 ; Mik., ii. 35 ; v. 61 ; vi. 47 ; viii. 78.

tehara. See *tihara*.

telar-, *delar-*, to set out, to go off. Meaning to pull the tents down, to strike tents. From *tele* (*q.v.*). Mik., x. 29.

tele, *tale*, *talaj*, down, below. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 35 ; Mik., ii. 29 ; v. 60 ; vi. 34, 47 ; viii. 79.

temnitsa, *tjemtsa*, prison. Rum. *temnița*. Mik., vi. 47.

tepori-, to take into custody. Rum. *tăbări*, to fall upon, surprise.

terdjov-, to stop. *Terdjol*, it stops (of the train). Passive of the rare *teráva*, I have, which is only found in Greek Romani. Mik., viii. 79.

ternjov-, to grow young. *Ternilo*, he grew young.

terno, *tərno*, young. Diminutive *ternoro*. Mik., ii. 26 ; v. 63 ; vi. 19, 34, 47, 51 ; viii. 80.

tetrádji, Wednesday. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 19 ; v. 35 ; Mik., v. 61.

thagár, *thagari*, king. Mik., vii. 41.

thaj, *taj*, *ta*, *haj*, *ha*, and. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 29 ; Mik., ii. 35 ; v. 61 ; vi. 19, 34, 47 ; viii. 76.

them, country. Mik., v. 63 ; vi. 34, 45 ; viii. 82.

tho-, *to-*, to wash, to clean. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 228 ; v. 35 ; Mik., v. 61 ; vi. 34 ; viii. 82.

tho-, *thod-*, to put, place. *Puška po dumo thodela*, he puts a gun on his shoulder. *Tho zaro*, put sugar (in your tea). Mik., ii. 35 ; v. 61 ; vi. 19, 34, 47 ; viii. 82.

thud, milk. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 36 ; Mik., ii. 25 ; v. 61 ; vi. 20, 34, 47 ; viii. 83.

thulimos, fat.

thulo, fat (adj.). *J. G. L. S.*, v. 36 ; Mik., ii. 25 ; v. 61 ; vi. 19, 34, 47 ; viii. 83.

tiári, saucer. Possibly plural of *tšaro*, dish; but see what I say in the Grammar under II. § 2. Miklosich's derivation from Servian *tanjir* is absurd. Pott, ii. 282, *tikeree*; Mik., vi. 34, 47.

tigata, small pot. Rum. *tigae*. Mik., ii. 65; vi. 34.

tigajitsa, little saucepan.

tihara, *tehara*, to-morrow. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 5; iv. 228; v. 35; Mik., ii. 27; v. 60; vi. 34, 47; viii. 76. In the first of these references Miklosich transliterates from Russian script, hence *g* for *h*. Russians profess to be unable to pronounce *h*, and always make this substitution both in writing and speaking.

tirivo, godfather. See *kirivo*.

tiro, *tjo*, *tšo*, *to*, thy. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 35; Mik., v. 61, 63; vi. 20, 38 *čiro*, *čo*; viii. 84 *tinro*.

tjej, *tjaj*, key. Rum. *cheie*. Mik., v. 29 *kej*; vi. 38 *čija*.

tjemtsa. See *temnitsa*.

tjermo, worm. Pl. *tjermé*, *terme*. Mik., ii. 25 *kermú*, 36 *kermó*; v. 62 *t'ermó*; vii. 76 *kermo*.

tjid-, to collect, gather, assemble. Mik., v. 63; vi. 38.

tjin-, *tšin-*, to buy. *Tjindem*, I bought. *Tšin mande jek, me potšinaŭ*, buy me one, I will pay. Mik., v. 63; vi. 6, 24, 38. Cf. *kin-*.

tjir-, to cook. See *kiriv-*.

tjiré, ants. Mik., v. 63; vii. 84.

tjo, *to*, thy. See *tiro*.

to-, to clean. See *tho-*.

tomnimé, fiancée, a participle in *-μενος*, from the same root as Sztojka's *tomnisarde pe*, they bargained, *tomnipe*, bargain.

totši-, to sharpen. *Kaj totšil le šuria*, who sharpens the knives. Rum. *toci*. Cf. Mik., ii. 26 *točila*, 'Schleifstein.'

tover, axe. Mik., ii. 25, 35, 36; v. 62; vi. 34, 47, 55; viii. 85.

trad-, to depart, to send, to drive (horses). *Tráda me*, I will send. *Kana trades mangs lil*, when you send me a letter. *Trada*, send! *Tradia(s)*, he sent. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 228; Mik., ii. 35; v. 62; vi. 47; viii. 85.

traj-, *traji-*, *trajsar-*, to exist, live prosperously. *Me bi-masesko nasti trajaŭ*, I cannot live comfortably without meat. *Šaj trajil pe*, it is possible to make a living. Rum. *trăi*. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 30.

tramvaj, tram. Rum. *tramvaž*.

tranda. See *trianda*.

trebûl, *trobul*, it is necessary. *Naj trebul*, it is not necessary.

Trebul le romen pai, the men need water. *Trobulas*, it was necessary. Rum. *trebui*. Mik., v. 62; vi. 34, 47.

trianda, *tranda*, thirty. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 49; v. 30; Mik., ii. 29; viii. 86.

trin, *drin*, three. *Skafidi drine punrensa*, table with three legs. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 49; v. 35; Mik., ii. 29; v. 62; vi. 20; viii. 86.

trisen, a funeral ceremony described in *J. G. L. S.*, vi. 300.

trito, third. Mik., v. 62.

trivar, thrice. Mik., v. 62.

trobul. See *trebul*.

trušalo, thirsty. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 35; Mik., vi. 47; viii. 87.

trušul, cross. Mik., ii. 35; v. 62; viii. 87.

tsaligrad, Constantinople. Rum. *Țarigrad*. Ultimately Slavonic.

Cf. Russian *tsar*, emperor, and *gorod*, town.

tsapdrika, sal ammoniac. Rum. *țipirig*.

tserha, *tserhi*, *tšerxa*, tent, camp. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 73; v. 35; Mik., ii. 33; v. 14; vii. 31.

tseruleta, sandal. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 49; Mik., vi. 23, 52.

tsettno, oil. Mik., viii. 98 *zeiti*. See *zetino*.

tsigno, *tsikno*, little. Diminutive *tsiknoro*. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 5; v. 35; Mik., ii. 36; v. 14; vi. 6, 23, 37, 49, 52; viii. 84.

tsilângeri, zinc.

tsipisar-, to shout out. *Tsipisarden*, you shouted out. Rum. *țipet*, a cry. Mik., v. 14.

tsoxa (article of clothing). Servian *čoha*. Mik., v. 14; vii. 35.

tsăra, a little. Rum. *țără*, a drop. Mik., ii. 36, 64; v. 14; vi. 23, 37.

tsərd-, to pull. Mik., v. 14; vi. 23, 49; viii. 86. Archduke Josef's Grammar (German edition), p. 45, *trdel-*, to pull.

tšad-, *šad-*, to vomit. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 222; Mik., v. 57; vii. 29.

tšaj, tea. Rum. *ceaiș*.

tšang, thigh, knee. Pl. *tšanga*. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 46; v. 35; Mik., ii. 40, 64, 69; v. 15; vi. 37; vii. 28. Cf. *tšonar*.

tšar, grass. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 46; Mik., ii. 25, 30, 40, 77; v. 15; vi. 23, 37, 51; vii. 29.

tšaro, dish. Mik., ii. 33, 37; v. 15; vi. 6, 23, 53; vii. 29.

tšas, *tšăso*, watch, hour. Pl. *tšas*, *tšasure*, *tšasuria*. Sode *tšaso*,

- what is the time? *Tše tšaso*? what time is it? Rum. *ceas*,
J. G. L. S., iv. 73; v. 36; Mik., ii. 27; v. 15; vi. 23, 37.
- tšasto*, feast in a person's honour. Servian *čast*, 'Gastmahl.'
- tšatšes*, yes, certainly, truly. Mik., ii. 29; v. 15.
- tšatšipé*, truth. Mik., vi. 6, 23.
- tšatšo*, true. *Pi tšájtši*, to the right hand. Mik., v. 15; vi. 6, 37;
 vii. 27.
- tše*, what. *Tše gažo*, what gorgio. *Tše tšaso*, what time is it?
 Rum. *ce*. Mik., v. 15; vi. 37.
- tšelo*, weak, flimsy. *Tšelo hærtija*, unmounted photograph.
- tšereš*, cherry. Rum. *cireș*. Mik., v. 15; vi. 24; vii. 76.
- tšerxa*. See *tserha*.
- tšerxái*, star. Pl. *tšerhája*. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 36; Mik., v. 15; vi. 24,
 37, 49; vii. 31.
- tšeri*, sky, heaven. Rum. *cer*. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 6; iv. 73;
 v. 36; Pott, ii. 196; Mik., ii. 27; v. 15; vii. 31.
- tšerníla*, ink. Rum. *cerneală*.
- tši*, not. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 5; v. 35; Mik., vi. 24; vii. 31.
Tši-kana in Text v. (d) should be *ži-kana*.
- tšik*, a sneeze. Mik., vii. 32.
- tšik*, dirt, mud. Mik., ii. 26 *čik*, 'Morast'; v. 15; vi. 7; vii. 32.
- tšikanalo*, juicy, fat. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 222; Mik., ii. 25 *čikýn*; vi. 24
čičenáló. See *tšikhən*.
- tšikat*, forehead. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 46; Mik., v. 15; vi.
 49, 53, 56; vii. 32.
- tšikhən*, fat (noun). Mik., ii. 25, 41, 64; v. 15; vi. 24; vii. 32.
- tšil*, butter. Mik., ii. 30 'soap', 36, 47, 59; vi. 19; vii. 80 *khil*.
- tšilendilo*, brush. There is some doubt about this word.
- tšimpój*, bagpipes. Rum. *cimpoș*. Pott, ii. 193; Mik., viii. 61
sambona.
- tšin-*, to buy. See *tjin-*.
- tšin-*, *šin-*, to cut, write. *Šindem le khajna*, I have killed the hen.
 Mik., ii. 28; v. 58; vi. 7, 24, 38, 49, 53; vii. 33.
- tšinelo*, exhausted. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 222; Mik., vii. 80. See *tšino*.
- tšingar*, a cry, shout. *Tšingar dja*, he cried out. Mik., v. 15;
 vii. 34; xi. 43.
- tšino*, tired. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 32; Mik., vii. 80. See *tšinelo*.
- tšinovi*, braid (on back of jacket). Cf. *tšin-*, to cut; or Russian
čin, official rank. The braid was black, so neither Rum.
tsinovaru, vermillion, nor Hungarian *czin*, colour, can be the
 source. Perhaps Hungarian *zsinór*, lace, braid.

tšip, tongue. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 46; Mik., ii. 25, 35; v. 58; vi. 38, 49, 53; vii. 31.

tšireš-, to spy (as a detective). Rum. *șiret*, sly, crafty.

tširikli, *širikli*, bird. The latter is the usual form. *Le Devleski širikli*, the stork. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 35; Mik., ii. 25, 37; v. 15; vi. 7, 24, 38, 53; vii. 34.

tšo. See *tiro*.

tšoχai, witch. Mik., v. 15; vii. 37.

tšoχano, ghost, vampire. Pl. *tšoχai*.

tšokán, *tšokhano*, hammer. Rum. *ciocan*. Mik., v. 15; vi. 38.

tšolo, a rug. *Si tuki tšolo te soves kothé*, have you a rug, that you may sleep there. Rum. *fol*. This translation is mere guesswork, but very likely.

tšon. See *šon*.

tšonar, thigh-bone. A ghost-word appearing in the song recorded in *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 199. It should be *tšanga*. See *tšang*.

tšor, thief. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 46; iv. 219; Mik., ii. 37; v. 16; vii. 36.

tšor-, to steal. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 230; Mik., ii. 36; v. 16; vi. 7, 24, 38.

tšorial, secretly. Mik., v. 16.

tšoro, poor. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 35; Mik., v. 16; vi. 7, 24, 49; vii. 37.

tšúfiko, labia minora. Hung. *csúfos*, shameful.

tšugno, sorry, sad. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 223. Borrow *tugnis amande*.

Cf. Rum. *ciudă*, vexation. Cf. Bulgarian *tšža*, to lament. Russian *tužénie*, lamentation.

tšukáno, hammer. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 223. See *tšokan*.

tšukni, whip. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 36; Mik., vii. 38.

tšumid-, to kiss. *Tšumidel ma andi miš*. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 5; Mik., v. 16; vi. 24, 38; vii. 38.

tšungalo, ugly. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 223. See *žungalo*.

tšuno, small boat. Servian *čun*.

tšunro, plait of hair worn on either side by the married women. Mik., vii. 39.

tšutši, breast. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 223; Mik., v. 16; vi. 24, 38; vii. 37.

tšuv-, to put, throw. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 223; Mik., vii. 34.

tu, thou. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 36; Mik., ii. 24; v. 62; vi. 34, 47, 51, 55; viii. 87.

tud. See *thud*.

tuhan, tobacco. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 228. See *duhan*.

- tumaro*, your. Mik., v. 62; vi. 47, 51.
- tume*, you. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 36; Mik., ii. 24; v. 62; vi. 47.
- tušula*, tobacco-pouch. Cf. Rum. *tașcă*, satchel, or cf. Mik., v. 63
t'iss, a variant of *kisi*.
- tuvaslo*, tobacco. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 228; Mik., viii. 83.
- tšrno*. See *terno*.
- u*, and. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 36; Mik., v. 64; viii. 88.
- udža-*, to go. See *ža-*.
- ungriko*, Hungary. Mik., ii. 60; viii. 89.
- urde*, *orde*, hither. *Av orde, av urde*, come here! Mik., v. 43, 64
vi. 4 *arde*; viii. 27.
- urdón*, *vurdon*, *wordón*, wagon. *Bi-grastengro urdón*, motor-car.
J. G. L. S., New Series, ii. 5; iv. 229; v. 36; Mik., ii. 25, 35;
v. 66; vi. 21, 35, 48.
- ušara*, ashes. Mik., v. 58 *šar*; vii. 29 *čar*.
- ušt-*, to arise, get up. *Ušti, ušte*, get up! *De mult uštilo*, he got
up long ago. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 36; Mik., v. 64; vi. 47; viii. 90.
- utsərd-*, to pull out. See *tərd-*.
- utšo*. See *vutšo*.
- užar-*, to clean. Mik., viii. 92.
- vádra*, bucket. Rum. *vadră*. Cf. Russian *vedró*, a liquid measure
nearly equal to three gallons. Mik., v. 65.
- vaj*. See *vej*.
- wajda*, chieftain. Rum. *voevod*, *vodă*. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i.
101, 'the title of the Captain in Hungary, *vajda*.' Mik., v. 66
voda.
- var*, time, occasion. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 36; Mik., v. 65; viii. 93.
- varénja*, jam, marmalade. Russian *varénje*.
- vareso*, *variso*, some. Rum. *oare*. Mik., v. 65; vi. 20; viii. 93.
- varo*, chalk. Rum. *var*.
- vas*, *vast*, hand. *ənkər tšo vas*, put your hand there. *J. G. L. S.*,
New Series, ii. 49; iv. 73, 229; v. 36; Mik., ii. 25, 35, 37; v.
65; vi. 20, 35, 48, 51; viii. 94.
- vasd-*, to lift. Imperative *vasde*. Mik., v. 65; vi. 48; viii. 5
lazd.
- vastaro*, handle.
- vavír*, another. Mik., vii. 68. See *aver*.
- vej*, *vaj*, or, either . . . or. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 36; Pott, ii. 77.
- wend*. See *ivend*.

- vendžínka*, ham. Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 230 *shánkā*, and Rum. *guncă*.
- vériga*, a spiral iron spring for a door. Rum. *verigă*, metal ring. Mik., vi. 51 *veridži*, chain; viii. 95.
- wero*, *vojro*, *vuro*, cousin. *Duita vojro*, second cousin. *Tšatšo vojro*, first cousin. Rum. *věr*. Mik., v. 65.
- veš*, *weš*, wood, forest. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 73; v. 36; Mik., ii. 25, 35, 37; v. 66; vi. 21, 48, 51; viii. 95.
- vi*, even, also. *Vi tu*, you too; you, I mean. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 36; Mik., v. 65; vi. 35, 48; viii. 95. Cf. *i, je*.
- virá*, block and tackle. This word is used in all seaports from the Danube to Algeria as a command, 'heave up.' Cf. French *virer*, to turn. Portuguese *virador*, windlass.
- virto*. See *birta*.
- vitjazo*, *witjazo*, *vitzu*, hero, giant. Rum. *viteaz*. Mik., v. 65.
- vitza*, race, family. Rum. *viță*.
- vo*, *wo*, he. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 36; Mik., ii. 24; v. 66; vi. 10 *jov*, 35, 48, 51; viii. 27 *ov*.
- voj*, she. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 36; Mik., ii. 35.
- voja*, wish, will, pleasure. Rum. *voi*, to wish, *voință*, will. Pott, ii. 82; Mik., v. 66; vi. 55.
- vojága*, bottle. Cf. Vaillant, *oiag*, 'bouteille.' See *buiaga*.
- vojro*. See *wero*.
- wolba*. See *χolba*.
- wolítsa*, street. Rum. *uliță*. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 229; Mik., v. 64.
- von*, they. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 36; Mik., ii. 24; vi. 35.
- vorba*, word. Rum. *vorbă*. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 36; Mik., v. 23 *horba*.
- wordon*. See *urdon*.
- wortako*, *vortako*, friend. Cf. *barta*.
- votrári*, poker. Rum. *vătrar*, fire-shovel. Mik., vi. 51 *vatralji*.
- votráva*, poison. Rum. *otravă*.
- votroilo*, vitriol.
- votroisar-*, to poison. *Votroisarde*, poisoned.
- wudar*, door. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 36; Mik., ii. 26, 35, 36; v. 64; vi. 21, 34, 56.
- vulūf*, 'balk' of the tent.
- vundja*, *vundžia*, finger nails. Rum. *unghie*. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 49; iv. 229; Mik., ii. 25; v. 64; vi. 35, 48, 51.
- vurdon*. See *urdon*.
- vurjav-*, to dress. *Vuderdjas pe*, she dressed herself, probably for *vurjadjas pe*. Mik., viii. 89 *uri*.

vuro. See *wero*.

vuš, *wuš*, lip. Mik., ii. 35; v. 64; vi. 55; viii. 97.

vutšo, *utšo*, tall. Mik., ii. 26, 60, 62; v. 64; vi. 20, 34; viii. 97.

zaijia, shoulder.

zajlisar-, to be faint. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 229.

zará, hair on pubes. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 49; iii. 229, 231; Mik., ii. 42; vi. 35; vii. 50 *džar*.

zaro, *zahro*, sugar. *Zahro* *čurdo*, soft sugar. *Kotoro zahro*, lump sugar. Rum. *zahar*. Mik., v. 54.

zarzajro, hydrochloric acid. Cf. Rum. *sare*, salt.

zen, saddle. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 229; Mik., viii. 98.

zettino, oil. See *tsetino*.

zlága, earring. See *žlaga*.

zor, strength. Mik., v. 67; vi. 35; viii. 98.

zorajtši, cramp. Mik., viii. 98, s.v. *zor*.

zoraes, strongly. *Mardel le zoraes*, beats them severely. Mik., vi. 35 *zurále*, sehr.

zorálo, *zuralo*, strong. *Zoralo hšrtija*, mounted photograph. *J. G. L. S.*, v. 35; Mik., v. 67; vi. 21, 35, 48; viii. 98.

zoria, dawn. Rum. *zare*, light. Mik., v. 66.

zrazu, at once. Russian *s razu*.

zum-, *zumar-*, *zumav-*, to test. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 229; Mik., viii. 99.

zumardi, a test. Cf. *sumerdži*.

zumi, soup. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 229; v. 35; Mik., v. 67; vi. 35, 48; viii. 99.

zuralo. See *zoralo*.

zuralov-, to become strong. *Zuralovaň*, I become strong. Mik., v. 67.

ža-. See *dža-*.

žamutro, son-in-law. Mik., v. 67; vi. 25, 53; vii. 49.

žan-, *žen-*, to know. See *džan-*.

ženo, a person. Pl. *žene*. *Duj žene*, both. *Trin žene*, three people together. *Si tuki but žene*, have you many relations? Mik., v. 67; vi. 39; vii. 50.

žezus. See *džezus*.

ži, until, as far as. *Ži-kana-tši*, until. *Zi-puni-tši*, until. Rum, *pánd*, to; *aci*, here; *pán' aci*, thus far. In these phrases however, *tši* may merely be the negative; cf. in Bulgarian Romani where *dži* is followed by *na* without the sentence becoming negative. Mik., v. 67; vi. 25, 53; vii. 50.

židavonia, Jews. Rum. *jidov*. For this curious plural form of Constantinescu, page 36, *mândroned* from *mândro* (*mândru*). Mik., v. 67, *židovu*.

žilo. See *jilo*.

živ-. See *dživ-*.

živindo, living. Gerund. *Živindo tšar*, living grass, a kind of sensitive grass found in South America.

žlaga, earring. Pl. *žlage*. See *zlaga*.

žoja, Thursday. Rum. *joř*. J. G. L. S., New Series, ii. 6; v. 35; Mik., v. 67.

žukel, dog. J. G. L. S., v. 35; Mik., ii. 25, 36, 43, 64; v. 68; vi. 48, 53; vii. 51.

žulanes, womanlike.

žuli, *žuvli*, woman. Mik., ii. 35; v. 68; vi. 25, 49; vii. 52.

žulikano, feminine. *Rašaia* was glossed *žulikane raša*.

žun-. See *džan-*.

žungalo, ugly, rough (of the sea). *Žungale roma*, German Gypsies. Mik., v. 68; vi. 25, 39; vii. 38. Cf. *tšungalo*; *džungales*.

žuvli. See *žuli*.

žmperato, *amparato*, emperor. Rum. *impărat*. Mik., ii. 28, 35; v. 68; viii. 99.

žnke, still, yet. Rum. *incă*. J. G. L. S., v. 31; Pott, i. 317; ii. 65; Mik., ii. 36; v. 70.

žnkli-, to mount. *žnkasto*, on horseback. Mik., v. 69; vi. 26; viii. 25, s.v. *nik*.

žnkər. See *angor*.

II.—AN ELEVENTH BULGARIAN GYPSY FOLK-TALE

Recorded by BERNARD GILLIAT-SMITH

Introduction

This excellent fairy-tale . . . But I seem to hear the reader commenting: 'He says this of all his fairy-tales.' Well, that is almost true, at any rate of nearly all the unadulterated ones. And as I am approaching the end of this collection, I should like to dwell again upon what I have already said on the subject. How is it that few will really enjoy the tales when they read them, even if they do so in the original? I suppose that our daily trend of thought is so far removed from the astounding simplicity of these stories and the telling thereof, that it is only by copying them, sentence by sentence, in a remarkably simple, symmetrical and withal highly inflected language, pondering over and enjoying the full flavour of ancient forms lost to our own speech hundreds of

years ago (knowing that these forms are not the result of a scientific and artificial arrangement, but have been evolved subconsciously by the primitive peoples who spoke them of yore), that we allow ourselves sufficient time to become penetrated with the meaning of the tale itself. If it were not for this, we should 'rush' them. A rather inane curiosity to see what is coming, what will happen—supposing we evince any sort of interest in such matters—prevents our dwelling long enough upon the text. And yet I can assure the reader that, owing probably to the amount of work I have necessarily had to bestow upon the present tale, I derive as much pleasure from the repeated perusal of many of its paragraphs as I do from the very best type of vivid description contained in the modern short story.

This excellent tale, then, has many parallels in the fairy-tales of all Europe and of India, and, what is of more immediate interest to students of Romani, it is found scattered throughout the Vocabulary of Paspati. For instance, on page 514 Paspati has: *Tovghias léskere sheriste yek karfitcha, ulinitar yek tchiricli tchordí, ta shukár*. Compare paragraph 15 of this tale. See also page 545 of Paspati, under the article *tchor*.

From the purely linguistic point of view there is much in the tale to interest the scholar. Here we find the well-known word *moxtó*, said to be of unknown origin, and until now not recorded farther east than Hungary. It is, I find, well known as far as the shores of the Black Sea.

Talking of well-known words hitherto unrecorded in the Balkan Peninsular, may not the Varna Moslem sievemakers word *póski* (fem.) 'a pocket,' be akin to the well-known *potisa*, *pútsi*, *pusétji*, on the one hand, and to Paspati's *bóshka* 'pocket,' on the other. Paspati refers the latter form to Bulgarian *bóška*, *bózka*, 'a teat, breast,' which may well be true when one remembers that pockets, in our sense of the word, do not exist in the native Moslem dress. Kara Hati gave me the word thus: *Dav xíns ándi póski*, at the same time thrusting an old tobacco-pouch into the folds of her *gad*.

O SARÁNDA-THAI-JEK ČOR

CHAPTER I.

1. *Isiné jek thugár, isti-da les jek rakli, sáde si ol o dúi džené. Bešen te xan maró. I chai phenél: "Bába-be, sóske na dikhés te áchos thugár, amí sinján bibutjákoró, ta kjerés man te kaljaráv me jakhá, ta te džav kárig dikháv?"*

2. *Kerghjas-peske jek bokolí: "Džar, kádáv la tərkaljamó, kárig kadžál i bokolí, me-da kadžáv othé." Gelí i bokolí kai gelí,*

THE FORTY-ONE THIEVES

CHAPTER I.

1. There was a king, and he had a daughter, just the two of them alone. They sit down to eat bread. The girl says: 'Father, why do you not see that although you are a king, yet you are without an occupation, and you make it necessary for me to blacken my eyes and go whither I look' (i.e. you bring worry upon me and oblige me to seek a livelihood)?

2. She made for herself a cake: 'Wait, I will make it roll, and whither the cake will go, thither will I go too.' The cake went and went, as far as a forest.

dži jekhé vešés. Liljás-pes i rakli, oi-da geli paš i bokoli. Dikhljás i rakli anglál pes—veš, dinjás andé odolké vešés. So te dikhl? Jek kher. Phuterghjás o vudár. So te dikhl? Na-telš sa sálbes. I rakli phenél: "K'uxljáv telé; te istérse, éhinén man; te istérse, mudarén man." Uxístili tell. So te dikhl? Saránda-u-jek gadá, sa bithovdé. I rakli phenghjás: "Džar te lav te thováv len." Liljás, thoghjás len. Ikalghjás, éhitjás len ko šeló.

3. *Blevélilo. Héle okotár avén o čorá, saránda-u-jek čor. "Ková si odovká manúš kai éhitjás odolká gadá, ta párnjon amaré kheréste?" Alé o čorá. So te dikhlén? O gadá sa léngere. Tsidindé te den andré. O vudár phanló! O čorá phenén: "Abe-dé andré!" Akavá phenél: "Abe-sár te dav? Može te si les éhurí, ja levóveri; kadél, kamudarél man." Sárore čorá darán te den andré. Jek phenghjás: "Džarén, me kadáv andré; te istérse mudarél man, istérse, éhinén man." Geló ko vudár, butínel o vudár: "Phúter-mange o vudár." I éhai phenél: "Daráv tútar. Kačhinés man." "Má-dara. Terní te sinján, mī phen t'ovés; phurí te sinján, amarí dai t'ovés." "E tumé-da, terné te sinjén, mo phral t'ovén; phuré te sinjén, mo dad t'ovén. Áke kaphuteráv-tuke; te istérse, éhin man; te istérse, mudár man."*

4. *Phuterghjás o vudár. So te dikhlén o čorá? Terní éhai! Zagradindé la sárore, lilé la, lošánen láke. Nakavén la o saránda-u-jek čor andár pe gadés sárore, ta t'ovél léngge phen.*

The girl betook herself, and she too went after the cake. The girl saw in front of her—a forest, and she entered into that forest. What does she see? A house. She opened the door. What does she see? Downwards a lot of steps. The girl says: 'I will descend; if He wills, they will kill me; if He wills, they will murder me.' She descended. What does she see? Forty-one shirts, all unwashed. The girl said: 'Wait, let me take them and wash them.' She took them, washed them. She took them out, cast them upon the line.

3. Evening came. Behold yonder come the thieves, forty-one thieves. 'Who is that man who has hung up those shirts, and they shining white in our house?' The thieves came. What do they see? The shirts are all theirs. They made ready to enter. The door was closed! The thieves say: 'Come now, enter.' This one says: 'But how shall I enter? Perhaps he has got a knife, or a revolver; he will strike and kill me.' All the thieves fear to enter. One said: 'Wait, I will enter; may be he will murder me, may be he will kill me.' He went to the door, he pushes the door: 'Open the door for me!' The girl says: 'I am afraid of you. You will kill me.' 'Do not fear. If you are young, become my sister; if you are old, become our mother.' 'And you, if you are young, become my brothers; if you are old, become my fathers. See, I will open for you; if God wills, kill me; if He wills, murder me.'

4. She opened the door. What do the thieves see? A young girl! They all surrounded her, took her, rejoiced in her. All the forty-one thieves make her put on their shirts (lit. 'they cause her to pass from in their shirt,' i.e. each one made her put on and take off again his shirt) that she may become their sister.

Ikaldé, diné la saránda naýtárja. Dži kai džánas saránda-u-jek čor, akaná džan triánda-u-oxtó. Trin čorá áčhon postojáno sa paš la, ta xoratínen lása, te na stikáldínel. Jek diés, dúi diés, jek másek. Sa bešté paš la. Lilé-pes jek diés, o saránda-u-jek čorá gelé.

CHAPTER II.

5. *Íkljol i mášteço ta xoratínel e mesečínása: "Mesečino! Jana živa-li e?" "Jana ima četirese-i-edín brajtja." Lel-pes i mášteço, džal othé paš i Jana. "Sar kerés, Jano?" "Sa lačés," i čhai phenél. "Ha le, to dad bičhailghjás akavká postín túke, ta t'urjés les, ta te dikháv lačés-li avél túke." Urjél les, o postín, i čhai; perél thai merél.*

6. *Aló o phralá. So te dikhén? Mult! Lilé te roven sárope. Jek džené vakerén: "Má-roven. Nanái amén bač phenjatar." Gelé, kerjardé láke jek moxtó, sade froljatar thai rupéstar. Lilé te nangjarén e čhajá: "O mi phenorí, terní, χurdí, mulí!" Nangjardé la o postín: "Ačúu! Amá sutjóm!" "E, phéne, šukár sutján, tu muljánas. Aló-li déko paš túte?" o phralá phučen la. "Abé aló, phralálen, mi mášteço, ta dinjás ta urghjóm akavká postín. Tamám urghjóm les, thai peljóm, naští ne uχtinjóm." O phralá phenén: "Kaavél-li pánda jevkár?" "Na džanáv. Móže-t'aavél." Žarén la trin džené čorá tha th'aavél,*

They led her out, gave her forty keys. Till then the forty-one thieves used to go out, but now thirty-eight go. Three thieves remain constantly and always with her, to converse with her, that she may not be bored. One day, two days, one month. They always sat by her. One day they betook themselves, the forty-one thieves went.

CHAPTER II.

5. Out comes the stepmother and converses with the moon: 'O moon! is Yana alive?' 'Yana has forty-one brothers.' The stepmother betakes herself, goes there to Yana. 'How are you faring, Yana?' 'Quite well,' the girl answers. 'See, take, your father has sent you this fur coat, that you may put it on, that I may see whether it fits you well.' The girl puts it on, the fur coat; she falls and she dies.

6. The brothers come. What do they see? The girl is dead. They all began to cry. One of them says: 'Do not cry. We have not any luck from a sister.' They went. They had made for her a coffin, all of gold and of silver. They began to undress the girl: 'O my little sister, young, tiny, dead!' They stripped her of the fur coat: 'Achoo! but I have slept!' 'Ah, sister, well you have slept, you were dead. Did any one come to you?' the brothers ask her. 'Indeed, brothers, there came my stepmother, and she gave me, and I donned this fur coat. The moment I had donned it, I fell and could not rise.' The brothers say: 'Will she come once more?' 'I don't know. She may come.' The thieves, three of

te dolén te éhinén la. Jek diés žardé, dúi diés žardé, jek kurkó. Nanáí t'alt násavi. Lilé-pes o čorá, pále gelé sárore. Pála ašlí kórkori.

7. *Páli i máštexo: "Mesečino! Jana živa-li!" I mesečina phenél: "Jana živa e, i četirese-i edin brajtja ima." Lel pes i máštexo, pála gelí paš láte. Dikhljás la: "Sar kerés?" "Áke bešáv." "But sastipé bičhalghjás to dat túke. Te les akiká angrustí, kerjarghjás túke. An-ta the thováv la te vastéste, tha the dikháv, kaavél-li tamám túke." Thoughjás i angrustí ko vas láke, thai pelí thai mulí.*

8. *Blevélilo. Hek okotár avén o čorá. So te dikhén? I phen léngeri pále mulí! Lilé te rovén: "O mi phenorí, terní, χurdí, mulí!" Lilé te nangiarén, lilé, dikhlé ko vas i angrustí. "Katár líljas adiká angrustí?" Dolén, ikalén la katár o vas. "Aťúu, amá sutjóm!" "A, phéne, sovljarghjásas tut adiká lubní šukár! Aló-li déko athé?" "Abe-aló, phralálen, pále mi máštexo. Thoghjás mánge jek angrustí, thai peljóm, thai našti ne uxtjá-veče." Bešté o phralá. "Da-li kaavél pále?" "Na džánáv."*

CHAPTER III.

9. *Dísilo: lilé-pes, gelé sárore džené. I čhai phenél: "Man diné saránd-u-jek klučjá, sarándu odájes te phuteráv, saránd-u-jek*

them, wait for her, that when she comes they may seize and kill her. One day they waited, two days they waited, one week. And no one came. The thieves betook themselves, again they all went. Again she remained alone.

7. Once more the stepmother: 'O moon, is Yana alive?' The moon says: 'Yana is alive and she has forty-one brothers.' The stepmother betakes herself again, she went to her. She saw her: 'How do you do?' 'Behold I am sitting.' 'Your father has sent you much health. You are to take this ring which he has had made for you. Come, that I may place it in your hand, that I may see whether it will fit you exactly.' She put the ring into her hand, and she fell and she died.

8. Evening came. Behold yonder come the thieves. What do they see? Their sister is again dead! They began to cry: 'O my little sister, young, tiny, dead!' They began to undress her, they started, they saw in her hand (i.e. on her finger) the ring. 'Where did she take this ring?' They seize, they take it from her hand. 'Achoo, but I was asleep!' 'Ah, sister, well had that harlot sent you to sleep! Has any one been here?' 'Ay, there came, brothers, again my stepmother. She put me on a ring, and I fell, and could not rise any more.' The brothers sit down. 'Will she come again?' 'I don't know.'

CHAPTER III.

9. Day came: they all betook themselves and left. The girl says: 'They gave me forty-one keys, in order that I might open forty rooms, and that I might

te na phuteráv. Džar ta te phuteráv me adiká, ta te dikháv so si an láte." So te dikhél? Jek gras, t'ek derviš. Tamám phuterghjás, "Heing" phenghjás, thai phanghjás o rudár andékhora; daránili. O gras phenél láke: "Má-dara, amí phúter mánge, ta te vakeráv túke so te kerés ta te mángsa t'ikaláv tut athár." Phutrél i rakli. So te dikhél? Jek gras t'ek derviš! Čar, čar, dži oprál o gras i čar. O gras phenél: "Šun mánđe, so kavakeráv, te mángsa t'ikaláv tut athár. Man t'akalké dervišés seksénja berš sar ikerén amén sa phanlé. Amí tu séko javín te des man šerbéti te piáv, saránd-u-jek javín sámó šerbéti, te na ulavés." Saránd-u-jek javín sa dinjás šerbéti. Aló o gras pe siláte (zorájlo). O gras phenél: "An-tá mánge dúi phaljá thai ensérja." Kerghjás láke jek moxtón, tha thoghjás la ándo moxtón, kovinghjás enserjéntsá, thoghjás-da oprál o moxtón jek bilbili. Čhitjás o moxtó palál pes o gras, ikístilo othár. Geló kai geló dži jekhé kavéste.

10. "Dobro večer, kavedži!" "Dal ti Gospod dobro!" "Ima-li mesto za nas?" O kavedžís phenél: "Nema mesto." Amá odolké-da kavéste niko nána džal. O gras phenél: "Abe če ti dam dve šapi napoleoni da spijem taja večer tukš." O kavedžís phenél: "E, ima mesto za vas."

11. Jek blel, dui beljá, trin beljá. Ikístilo jek blšl—akšám-isti. Ikalál jek mása, thovél anglál o kavés. Liljás o gras, thoghjás o

not open forty-one. Wait, that I may open that one, that I may see what is in it.' What does she see? A horse, and a dervish. Scarcely had she opened it when she said 'Heing!' (drawing in her breath), and closed the door immediately; she was afraid. The horse said to her: 'Fear not, but open for me, that I may tell you what to do if you want me to get you out of here.' The girl opens. What does she see? A horse, and a dervish! Grass, grass, up to above the horse the grass. The horse says: 'Hear me, what I shall say, if you wish me to get you out of here. It is eighty years that they are keeping me and this dervish always locked up. But you must give me every morning sherbet to drink, forty-one mornings only sherbet, and do not skip (one day in giving it).' Forty-one mornings she continually gave the sherbet. The horse came to his strength (grew strong). The horse says: 'Bring me two boards, and nails.' He made a box for her, and put her in the box, nailed it down with nails, and placed upon the box a nightingale. He cast the box behind him (on his back), the horse, and went out from there. He went and went as far as a coffee-house.

10. 'Good evening, innkeeper!' 'May the Lord give you a blessing!' 'Is there room for us?' The innkeeper says: 'There is no room.' Now, no one ever went to that coffee-house. The horse says: 'But I will give you two handfuls of napoleons, that we may sleep this evening here.' The innkeeper says: 'Eh, there is room for you.'

11. One evening, two evenings, three evenings. He came out one evening—towards nightfall. He takes out a table, places it in front of the inn. The horse

moxtó ki mása. Liljás te bašalél, te giljábél o bilbíli sékakva giljá thai manédes. Kidisájdlo ko šeró pherdó národos. Hek okothár e thagaráskoro rakló aló, tha šunél o giljá thai o manédes kai vakjerél o bilbíli.

12. "*Abe-phuréja, biknés-li mánge adavká moxtón, e bilbiljésa?*" O phuró phenél: "*Abe-thagára, sar túte thagaráskoro rakló t'ovés, sar te na dav les túke?*" O rakló phenél: "*Kití mangés léske?*" "*Kití déxes, edeki-de.*" "*Kadáv tut dúi šinikjá sa froljá.*" Ikalghjás o phuró, dinjás o moxtón e bilbiljésa. Liljás-pes e thagaráskoro rakló, geló-peske kai geló kheré Thoghjás les mamúi pes, ta si pašló ko kéreveti ta sa-da šunél o manés thai o giljá kai vakjerél o bilbíli.

13. *Blevélilo. Anén léske o šalajtnkes šerbéti, thorén ki mása, mukjén thai džán-peske. Zasovél o rakló. Ikljol i rakli andár o moxtón, džal, piél xarí šerbéti. Džal pále, čhivél ándo moxtón. Uxtjél e thagaráskoro rakló, vikinel e šalajinkjén paš péste: "Tumé mo šerbéti sar te anén epkáš?" "Ače, thagára, má-vakjer. Amé anás les pherdó. Amé nána kerghjám ačoká dži akaná, sar katrómas ta te anás to šerbéti epkáš? Ake kaanár les anglál túte, te dikhés sar ačhavár les ki mása pherdó. Tu dikh te n'ovél déko pále ándi odája, dek manúš.*

14. *Tédo o rakló te sorél oprál o kéreveti. Phaqljás xai pe jakhá ta kerél pes sutó. Dikhél i rakli kai sorél, ikljel andár o*

took the box, placed it on the table. The nightingale began to sing and chant all sorts of songs and canticles. The populace crowded full around the head (i.e. the people thronged around the table, the centre of attraction). Behold yonder come the king's son, to hear the songs and the canticles, which the nightingale is singing. (N.B.—The horse now appears as an old man.)

12. 'Heigh, old man, will you sell me that box, with the nightingale?' The old man says: 'O king, since you are, as you are, the son of a king, how shall I not give it to you?' The youth says: 'How much do you want for it?' 'As much as you like (to give), just so much.' 'I will give you two corn-measures full of gold pieces.' The old man brought out the box with the nightingale, gave it. The king's son betook himself and went home. He put it in front of him, and he is lying on his bed and always listening to the canticles and songs that the nightingale is pouring forth.

13. Evening came. The servants bring him sherbet, place it on the table, leave it and go. The boy falls asleep. The girl emerges from the box, goes, drinks a little sherbet. She goes back, casts (herself) into the box. The king's son arises, calls the servants to him: 'How is it you bring my sherbet half (full)?' 'Wait, O king, do not speak (thus). We bring it full. We have not behaved thus until now, how should we dare to bring your sherbet half-full? See, I will bring it before you, that you may see how I leave it on the table full. You see that no one comes afterwards into the room, some man or other.'

14. The boy lay down to sleep upon the bed. He just shut his eyes to make himself (seem) asleep. The girl sees that he is asleep, emerges from the box. Just

moxtón. Tamám gell, vazdinjás i éša tha piljás o šerbéti, hop, o rakló phuterél pe jakhá, del la ángali. Odiká rakli thábljol pékjol; sar i momeli thábljol, adžuká oi thábjol šukátar. Uxtjél o rakló, saránda diés saránda javinjá biáv kerél ta lzl la. Lel o rakló, phagjél o moxtón. Oi léskeri, ov lákoro. Lilé-pes. Jek diés, dúi diés, jek másek. Tsidinjás khamli. Nakló so nakló, bianghjás jekhé raklés. Lošánel e thagaráskoro rakló.

CHAPTER IV.

15. *Jek diés, dúi diés; hékje okotár i mástexo xoratínel e mesečínása: "Mesečino, Jana živa-li e?" "E, Jana živa e, tsaritsa stanala, i mšško dete rodila." Lel-pes i mástexo, gell othé. "E, Sinko! sar kerés? So kerés? So n'avés-tuke ta sinján athé. Téljov-ta, ta te poštnav túke an te šerés." Teljarél e rakljá te dikhél láke ándo šeró, del thai bešljarel láke ándo šeró baš-uprál jek suv. Perél i rakli thai muli.*

16. *Avél okothár e thagaráskoro rakló. So te dikhél? I rakli nanáti athé. O rakló rovel, o tsikno. I rakli ašli bilbli. Avél okothár khe thagaréskere rakléskeri pendžér, giljabel thai vakjerél mánes. I xalajinka vakjerél e thagaréskere rakléske: "Thagára, the thagaribnása, sóske na dolés akalké bilbilés e rakléske, ta móže-bi te taininkjarás les e bilbiljésa." E thagaréskoro rakló phenél: "Sar kadolás les?" I xalajinka phenél: "Mak*

as she went, lifted the cup and drank the sherbet, hop, the boy opens his eyes, embraces her. That girl burns and shines; as a candle burns, thus she burns with beauty. The boy arises, forty days and forty dawns he makes a marriage feast, and takes her. The boy takes the box, breaks it. She is his and he is hers. They took each other. One day, two days, one month. She became pregnant. There happened what happened, she bore a son. The King's son rejoiced.

CHAPTER IV.

15. One day, two days; behold the stepmother talks with the moon: 'O moon, is Yana alive?' 'Ay, Yana is alive, she has become a queen and has given birth to a male child.' The stepmother betakes herself, went there. 'Ha, Sinko! how are you? What are you doing? Why do you not come (to me) since you are here. Bend down, that I may louse you on your head.' She makes the girl bend down that she may examine her head, with one stroke she drives in a pin into the crown of her head. The girl falls and dies.

16. The king's son comes. What does he see? The girl is not here. The boy, the little one, is crying. The girl had become a nightingale. She comes to the window of the king's son, sings and pours forth songs. The servant says to the king's son: 'O king, by your dynasty, why do you not catch this nightingale for the boy, and perhaps we shall quieten him with the nightingale.' The king's son says: 'How shall we catch it?' The servant says: 'Smear

o lil tutkáli, tha thov ki péndžera. Ov kaavél, kalepínel pe píré ko lil, othé-da kadéhol, thai kadolás les." Lepindé o tutkáli ko lil, thovdé les ki péndžara. Avél o bilbílí. Kondingghjás ko lil, lepisájle o píré. Dolghjás les e thagaréskoro rakló. Tamám liljás te maznínel les, del thai peravél katár o šeró o suv thai ašlí manúš. "Ačúu, amá sutjóm-a!" "Amá sutján romntje, ha! Saví si adiká butín? ta tu ašlján čoká?" "Abe-sar sinjómas bešti thai dávas me raklés čuči, hékje okothár ali mi máštexo: "Téljov te poštinav túke an te šerés." Téeljom te díkhél mánge an me šerés, del thai bešljarel mánge jek suv an me šerés. Me-da na džandáv kai geljóm, so kerghjóm." "Kaavél-li pand' efkár," e thagaréskoro rakló phenél, "ti máštexo?" Oi phenghjás: "Na džandáv."

17. *Jek diés, dúi diés, jek kurkó. Héke okotár i máštexo ka xoratínel e mesečina: "Mesečino! Jana živa-li e?" "E, Jana živa e, i tsaritsa stanala."*

18. *Lel-pes i máštexo, háide háide paš láte. Tamám dinjás andré: "O, Sínko, sar kerés?" "Lačés," i čhai phenél, "beš, dále. Kaavél akaná mo rom kadél tut bakšiš." Heke okotár e thagaréskoro rakló: "Sar alján? Mist' alján! Sar kerés? Sar kerél to rom?" "Lačés." "E, tu kai alján, so manglján me romnjátar, ta kíidinján me tsikné rakléske, ta kerghján edeki runó!" E thagaréskoro rakló phužel la: "Kírk at-mi istérsen eli kírk bíčák?"*

paper with glue, and put it at the window. He will come and stick his feet to the paper, and there he will remain and we shall catch him.' They smeared the glue on to the paper, placed it at the window. The nightingale comes. It settled on the paper, its feet became stuck. The king's son seized it. He had just begun to stroke it, when with a movement he makes fall the pin from its head, and it remained a human being. 'Achoo, but surely I was asleep!' 'You were asleep, wife, forsooth! What is this business, that you should have remained thus?' 'Whilst I was seated and giving the breast to my child, behold my stepmother came: "Stoop, that I may search your head for lice." I stooped, that she might examine my head, she with one stroke drove a pin into my head. And I do not know whither I went, nor what I did.' 'Will she come back once more, your stepmother?' says the king's son. She said: 'I do not know.'

17. One day, two days, one week. Behold the stepmother converses with the moon: 'O moon, is Yana alive?' 'Heigh! Yana is alive and she has become a queen.'

18. The stepmother betakes herself, away, away, to her. Scarcely had she entered: 'Oh, child, how are you?' 'Well,' the child says, 'be seated, mother. My husband will now come and give you a present.' Behold the king's son: 'How have you come? Welcome! How are you? How is your husband?' 'Well.' 'Now you, when you came, what did you want from my wife, and you have willed ill to my little child and made him cry so!' The king's son asks her: 'Do you want forty horses or forty knives?' 'Let forty

"Kirk biçák duşmanlará olsun, kirk at bızim-için olsun daa evél gideím baná!" *Phánder la saránda grasténgere porjénde, jek kaméla del e grastén, kerén la parám-parlés.*

ORADÁ MASÁL, BURADÁ SALÍK.

knives be for the enemy, forty horses for us, that I may go all the quicker!'
He ties her to the tails of forty horses, gives the horses a single stroke of the whip, and they do her to pieces.

O. M. B. S.

NOTES TO THE TEXT

§ 2. *kadv la tşrkajamá* . . . Accusative (cf. the form *dikhimdske* for *dikhíb-ndske*) of *tşrkalibé*. Cf. also *naşibá* (*Ördilendşis*) and such-like forms.

§ 2. *na-telş sa şşibes* . . . for *şşibes*, as *som* for *ştom*.

§ 4. *nakavén la* . . . *andár pe gadés şdroşe* . . . The custom is known also among the Arabs. A man wears his friend's shirt, and thus shows that he has entered into brotherhood with him.

§ 5. *to dad bişhailghjás akavká postín* . . . *bişhailghjás* for *bişhalghjás* represents merely a tendency in pronunciation. Cf. above, the Bulgarian *brátja* for *brátja*.

§ 6. *Jek džéné vakerén* . . . As already noted on a previous occasion, *džénó*, fem. *džení*, 'person,' 'individual,' is often used in this dialect in the plural when it refers to only one person, but is in such cases preceded by *jek* and followed by a verb in the third person plural.

§ 6. *naygjardé la o postín* . . . *naygjardv* takes a double accusative.

§ 6. *E, phéne* . . . Vocative, used as frequently as *phentje*.

§ 6. *tu muljánas* . . . Pluperfect, by no means so rare in this dialect as Paspáti found it to be (see Paspáti, p. 99).

§ 8. *A, phéne, sovjarghjsas tut* . . . Cf. previous note. Pluperfect. Paspáti does not give this form in the third person singular. In his dialect, the *-as* termination is omitted: *kerdómas*, *kerdánas*, *kerdás*.

§ 9. *andékhora* . . . 'immediately': and' *jekh óra*.

§ 9. *seksénja* . . . Turk. *seksén*, nothing to do with *énja*.

§ 9. *çar, çar*, etc. . . . *i çar*, 'the grass'; *o çar* 'ashes,' 'dust.'

§ 9. *saránd-u-jek javín sámó şerbéti, te na ulavés* . . . There is a mystery about this word *ulavdv*. This is the only instance I have of its presence in this dialect. Either I was mistaken, or Paşi Suljóff misunderstood my question. Anyhow he explained the word as here meaning: 'do not skip one day in giving the sherbet.' In Paspáti, and in most of the dialects I have met with in Eastern Bulgaria, including the dialect of the Drindaris, the word means 'to share,' 'divide.' Cf. Paspáti, p. 561, *besh t'ulavds amén*. Hence, 'to portion out,' which makes me doubt the correctness of my above translation.

§ 9. *an-tá mágge dúi phaljd* . . . *phal* 'a board,' not recorded in Paspáti, but well known in this and in Eastern Bulgarian dialects. For supposed origin see Mik. viii. 39 and Pott, ii. 361.

§ 9. *jek búbúli* . . . Turk. *búbúli*.

§ 10. *dve şápi* . . . Bulg. *şépa* 'a handfull,' explained as *dúí búrneka*. Cf. Anglo-Romani *bónnek*.

§ 13. *Anén léške o xalajtńkes şerbéti* . . . Cf. Rumanian *halatca*, 'a slave of a noble Turkish lady.'

§ 13. *şur katrómas ta te ands* . . . 'How shall we dare to bring?' *Trómas*, or *tromdv*, which latter form is less correct, means in Sofia both 'to dare,' as here, and 'to fear.' See Mik. viii. 87, where the meanings given are 'to dare' and 'to be allowed.' Miklosich says the word is *dunkel*, and Pott, ii. 291, seems to confuse it with *trebul*, *trebola*, 'to be necessary.' The word is simply an instance, like *prépel*, 'it fits,' 'suits,' of a loan-verb conjugated without any form of suffix being attached to the root, and is derived from the Modern Greek *τρομάζω*, 'I am frightened.'

§ 14. *ta kerél pes suto* . . . *suto*, 'asleep,' a participial adjective. Cf. Paspati, *bi-suttó*, 'sleepless.'

§ 14. *oi thábjol šukátar* . . . for *šukaripndstar*.

§ 14. *tsidinjšs khamli* . . . 'became pregnant.' *Tsidav* means primarily 'to pull.' For the meaning 'to become' compare the Rumanian *a purcede ingreunatǎ* 'to become enceinte,' for a *purcede* means 'to proceed towards,' just as does *tsidav* in *tsidinjšs-pes*, 'he betook himself.' The word, so common in many dialects, is somewhat of a mystery. Paspati's equivalent would seem to be *tchídava*, which he derives from *tchivdva* 'to throw.' But see also Mik. viii. 86, *trd*, where he quotes Rumanian Romani *crd*. The *r* is heard also in Eastern Bulgarian dialects. Varna Sedentary Moslem sievemakers: *šrdav*, past *šrdém*.

§ 16. *te taininkjards les* . . . Romani causative of the loan-verb *taintnav*, 'I am, become silent.'

§ 16. *mak o lil tutkdi* . . . *makiv* takes at times a double accusative.

§ 16. *Kondinghjís ko lil* . . . i.e. 'settled on the paper.' Turkish *konmak*. As the verb is intransitive one would have expected **kondistjlo*.

§ 16. *dolghjís les* . . . 'he seized it.' *Doldv* is another mysterious word in this dialect. On a previous occasion I suggested the Slavic prefix and *lav* 'I take.' But in that case we should have, in the past tense, probably *doliljóm*, whereas we find *dolghjóm*. My explanation was as unsatisfactory as Paspati's proposed derivation of *ulaváva* from *láva*.

REVIEWS

E Ísus-Xristóskoro Džiiipé thai Meribé e Sfjatoné Lukéstar. The Gospel according to Saint Luke; translated into Bulgarian Romani by BERNARD GILLIAT-SMITH: a Review, with some notes upon the dialect.

I WILL receive it with thanks. I know what it is. What a singular people! The same dress, the same look, the same book. Pelham gave me one in Egypt. Farewell! Your Jesus was a good man, perhaps a prophet; but . . . farewell!

Thus the Barbary Jew to whom Borrow had proffered a copy of the Bible in the 'Plaza Mayor' of Vigo. One might add in a spirit of profound respect 'And the same Society!' For this heroic body—presided over in Borrow's day, as readers of *The Romany Rye* will recall, by the 'big, burly parson, with the face of a lion, the voice of a buffalo, and a fist like a sledge-hammer'¹—is that same British and Foreign Bible Society, which some eighty years ago despatched Lavengro to Petersburg and the Peninsula, and to which we owe *inter alia* his version of St. Luke in Spanish Gitano, as now the recent renderings of the same Gospel into Bulgarian Romani, and that of St. Mark into South-German Gypsy.

¹ *Ed. princeps*, vol. i. p. 45.

The Bible Society, now well in its second century, and with over four hundred polyglot publications to its credit, is to be congratulated upon having secured an ideal translator in the person of Mr. Gilliat-Smith, whose *Life and Death of Jesus Christ* may well serve as a model of its kind. In estimating the worth of his gift—if that be ever a fitting attitude in a grateful recipient—let us first take into account the difficulty of rendering the Scriptures into an obscure tongue, as poorly equipped with verbal treasure as any dowerless bride of the folk-tales in the matter of trousseau. Its slender stock of original words barely suffices to express the more common needs of a material existence, and even in that limited field it lacks terms for many of the ordinary objects of any civilized community. Hence the translator is compelled either to have recourse to comparatively modern loan-words, often peculiar to a single locality or dialect, or to express the sense of the original by periphrases, which may or may not be generally intelligible. While recognising, as he must, the traditional sacredness that attaches to every word or particle, he has yet to decide whether he shall adhere to the *ipsissima verba* of his text, or resolve the same thought into a more idiomatic but less literal phraseology. He cannot lean on the shoulder of a Gypsy collaborator, who would lead him hopelessly astray: he must be master of the language for himself. And lastly, he must render his text in a style at once dignified and simple, devoid of vulgar or ludicrous associations, and touched with a beauty which will impress and linger in the mind.

How successfully Mr. Gilliat-Smith has avoided these pitfalls will be apparent to any Romani scholar who reads a chapter of his *St. Luke*. There exists, as he himself has pointed out elsewhere,¹ and as most collectors must have independently observed, a distinct difference between the language of the folk-tales and that of conversation. The colloquial speech of the Gypsies reflects their deeply-rooted mental indolence. It is often slipshod and out-at-elbows. At one moment it will fling a whole sentence into a gesture, and in the next spin out a web of clauses where anacolutha, to borrow a pleasant misquotation, are 'as thick as thieves in Vallombrosa.' A Gypsy on ordinary occasions will pick up the nearest alien word at hand, although there are true Romani expressions equally familiar to him; and even when knowing his own language well will pay the gentile tongue the compliment of

¹ *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, vi. 4 and *passim*.

dropping into its idioms and imitating its order and arrangement of words.

In the folk-tales, on the contrary, Romani wears its court-dress. The style, which is largely traditional, is characterised by a vigour, terseness, and vivid narrative power which may justly entitle it to be regarded as—what indeed it is—the literary form of the Gypsy language. This is obviously the model which Mr. Gilliat-Smith has kept before him in his rendering of St. Luke, and the success of his attempt might well suggest to the Bible Society the desirability of making it a general instruction to all those who essay the translation of the Scriptures into rude tongues, written or unwritten, that they should first, like our fellow-member, qualify for the task by a collection of the native folk-tales.

In illustration of these remarks, let me quote the opening verses of Mr. Gilliat-Smith's Romani text of the Parable of the Prodigal Son (xv. 11-24), indicating by spaced letters his happy use of turns of expression borrowed from this source:—

11. *Vakerél: Siné kai siné jek čorbadžis, isí-da les dúi čhavé.*

12. *O ternedér čhavó pe dadéske phenél: Abe-Bába, mangáv tut, dé-man so ovél mánge katár to mangín. O dad-da ularél (razdelínel) po mangín maškár lénde.*

13. *Jek diés, dúi diés, trin diés, kídel pe šéxja o ternedér phral, džal na-avrí, džál-peske ándo durutnó them, othé pübnása, lubnjéntsa o lové sa xal.*

14. *Xaljas, sa. Uló jek barí bok ándo them, ov-da čoró kai isí, bokhálilo, trušálilo.*

15. *Geló kai geló tsantnel pes dekáte katár o them. Ov-da, o čosámudžas, andé jekhé livadjá bičhalél les, ta te čaravél e balén.*

16. *Ov-da oví mangélas, bokhaló kai si, prüştinjéntsa-da te čáljol. Amá níko nána dínjas léske.*

17. *Togáti kórkořo peske vakerél: Kiti xizmetkjárja andé me dadéskere kheréste isí, léye-da resél o mařó, amí athé muljóm bokhátar!*

18. *Kamuxťáv, paš me dadés kamlžáv, te vakeráv léske: Bába-be, mamúi e Devléste, thai mamúi túte bezexá kerdjóm.*

19. *Nána sinjóm dostá lašó, ta te vikínen man to čhavó; ker ta t'ováv jek katár te xizmetkjárja.*

20. *Uxtjél, džál paš pe dadés.—Hénos but isí durál, dikhél les*

o dad, lašó vogi čalavdó isí, prástal, perél léske turjál i men, del ánygalí, čumidél.

21. *Phenél léske o čhavó: Bába-be, mamúi e Devléste, thai mamúi túte bezexá kerdjóm. Nána sinjóm dósta lašó, ta te vikínen man to čhavó.*

22. *Amí phenél o dad pe slugánge: Pó-sigo anén-ta o náišukár urjaibé, urjavén-ta les, thovén-ta léske jek angrustí andó vast, thai tservúlja (kondúrja) ándo piré.*

23. *Thai anén-ta athé e bakrés, e thuljardés, thai čhinén-ta les, ta te xas, te piás, te lošánas.*

24. *Sóske adavká aló mánge, mo čhavoró kai muló, kai našavdjóm les, pále arakhljóm les. Lilé te kerén, te lošánen.*

Not less admirable and convincing in their Romani garb are the parables of the Rich Fool (xii. 16-21), the Great Supper (xiv. 16-24), Dives and Lazarus (xvi. 19-31), and the Good Samaritan (x. 30-37), though the latter suffers by a weak translation in the last verse. In x. 36, where Jesus replies to the question, 'And who is my neighbour?' by returning the answer, 'Which of these three, thinkest thou, proved neighbour unto him that fell among the robbers?' 'πλησίον,' neighbour, is not as before (x. 29) rendered by the loan-word *komšis*,¹ but by the inadequate periphrasis *nái-lašó*, 'the best man.' This may be a concession to modernism, but earlier translators, fortunately for the point of their stories, were not thus oppressed by the dread of repeating the same word twice upon two consecutive pages. The same slip of the pen, strangely enough, occurs in Puchmayer's version, where the word is rendered *lášo-manuš*, Borrow translating it by the Spanish *proximo*. Have the Bulgarian Gypsies, then, lost Paspatis's tender and expressive *pashemandutnó*?—as in the song '*Pashemandutnie, túke but dukáva*,' 'O, my neighbour, how I love thee' (lit. 'ache for thee'), the *pashemandutní* being of course a 'Nachbarin' or 'neighbourness.'

Against this single failure to grasp the spirit of the original may be set, however, scores of felicitous renderings, of which one is tempted to quote more than space will permit. I take the following as a few examples selected almost at random:—

'Now there was a certain rich man, and he was clothed

¹ Serv. *komšija* from Turk. *komšu* (Miklosich, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der slavischen Sprachen*, p. 126). The word occurs also in Sirmian Gypsy as *komšijaš*, and in Hungarian Gypsy as *komšija* in the sense of 'peasant' (Ibid., *Mundarten*, vi. 27, 42).

in purple and fine linen, faring sumptuously every day' (xvi. 19).

Siné jek manúš barvaló, sa urjavélas pes ándo rup t'ándo somnakál, diés dieséske biáv thai baró xabé kerélas.

'And I will say to my soul, Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years; take thine ease, eat, drink, be merry' (xii. 19).

Me duxéske kaphendv: Duxéja-mo, but mangín but berséngé ist túke, ma-ker buttí akaná, te xas, te piés, te lošánes.

'There shall be two women grinding together; the one shall be taken, and the other shall be left. There shall be two men in the field; the one shall be taken and the other shall be left' (xvii. 35).

Dúi džuvljá kapišén aró; jek kalínjovel, jek kaačhól. K'oovén dúi murš ándi livádja; jek kalínjovel, jek kaačhól.

'Now do ye Pharisees cleanse the outside of the cup and of the platter; but your inward part is full of extortion and wickedness' (xi. 39).

Tumé rašajá, e khoréskoro agór, thai e čaréskoro agór, sa kosén, amí tuméngé andré sa ist čoribé, sa bengipé ist.

'I fast twice in the week; I give tithes of all that I get' (xviii. 12).

Ándo kurkó du-var ačhav bokhaló, me manginéstar-da o déšto kotór e čoréngé dav.

'Thou art my beloved Son; in thee I am well pleased' (iii. 22).
Tu sinján mo čho dukhanó, dukhániljom túke.

'And she had been a widow even for fourscore and four years' (ii. 37).

Seksán-u-štaré berséngeri phivlí sas.

'And he said to the man that had his hand withered, Rise up and stand forth in the midst' (vi. 8).

Phenél ko šuke-vastéskoro: Ušti-ta, íkljov-ta maškarál.

'Leave the dead to bury their own dead' (ix. 60).
Te parónen o mulé pe mulén.

'And of his kingdom there shall be no end' (i. 33).
Thai léskoro thagaripé koovél biagoréskoro.

It is refreshing to the Romani folk-lorist to meet with chapters

introduced by *odolké zamaníende* 'in those times' (iii. 1, etc.), reminiscent of the *oklé zamaníende* of Paspatis's folk-tales. But at the same time it is much more than a pleasant literary association. The adoption of such familiar phrases must inevitably arrest the attention of the Gypsy auditor, and throw him into the expectant and receptive mood of a child who pricks up his ears on hearing the magic words 'Once upon a time.' In the same familiar vein we find Abraham addressing Dives as *Sínko*, as one might say 'Good fellow' in English, or name the youngest brother *Jak*¹ in a Welsh Gypsy *Märchen*.

As in the tales we have examples of single word sentences, inimitable in an analytic language like our own. The opening phrases 'And the day began to wear away,' ix. 12 (*ἡ δὲ ἡμέρα ἤρξατο κλίνειν*), and 'And when it was day,' vi. 13 (*καὶ ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡμέρα*), are perfectly rendered respectively by the words *Blevélilo* and *Dísilo*, the participles of the passive verbs *bleveljov*- 'to become dusk,' and *disjov*- 'to dawn,' from *blevél* 'evening' and *diés* 'day.' 'Ἰκανόν ἐστιν' 'it is enough' (xxii. 38) is translated simply *Resél* 'it suffices,' and *ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐγένετο* or *ἐγένετο δέ* 'it came to pass' by the idiomatic Romani phrases *uló so uló* 'befel what befel,' or *nakló so nakló* 'happened what happened.'

Other examples of traditional beginnings, links and tags familiar to students of Mr. Gilliat-Smith's Bulgarian folk-tales are: *siné kai siné* 'there was' or 'there was once'; *geló kai geló* 'and he went'; *džal kai džal* 'as he went'; *runé kai runé* 'they wept and bewailed'; *keráv so keráv* 'I do these things'; *dikhljás so dikhljás* 'and he looked up and saw.' Similarly we have *athé othé* 'everywhere,' lit. 'here, there' (cp. Welsh Gyp. '*kai tã 'koi*'), and 'everything' rendered by the all-embracing Gypsy phrase *so si so nanái*, lit. 'what is [and] what is not.' The Gospel closes with the very fine rendering of *αἰνοῦντες καὶ εὐλογοῦντες* by the reduplicated gerund *ašarindós ašarindós*.

So much for verses which lend themselves naturally to the simple locutions of the folk-tales. Let us next see how far Mr. Gilliat-Smith has been successful in rendering more metaphorical passages, of which no better test could be chosen than

¹ I myself have had the story of Jonah and the whale told me as a genuine Welsh Gypsy folk-tale, the prophet throughout being referred to as *ō corō Jak*, 'poor Jack.'

St. Luke's stately preamble to his Gospel—perhaps the most studiously literary piece of writing in the New Testament:—

GREEK TEXT

[1] Ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπε-
χείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν
περὶ τῶν πεπληροφορημένων ἐν
ἡμῖν πραγμάτων, [2] καθὼς
παρέδωκαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς
αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρεταὶ γενόμενοι
τοῦ λόγου, [3] ἔδοξε καμοὶ
παρηκολουθηκóτι ἄνωθεν πᾶσιν
ἀκριβῶς καθεξῆς σοι γράψαι,
κράτιστε Θεόφιλε, [4] ἵνα ἐπιγνῶς
περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων τὴν
ἀσφάλειαν.

BULGARIAN-ROMANI TRANSLATION

[1] *Akaná but džené astardé*
te pišinen jek po jek so uló paš
aménde, [2] Ta diné aménde
sar paramísi thai amé-da, sa
dikhlijám ta axáliljam katár o
načálo, thai sikhjardjám adalká
čačé alavá. [3] Thai me-da
meráki thodjóm, te sikhjovav sa
lačés katár o načálo, ta te pišnav
túke, Theofiléja, sa ándo rédos,
[4] *Ta te džanés kai adalká*
alavá, kai sikhístiljan, čačé isi.

Here the translator wisely abandons the somewhat elaborate syntactical arrangement of clauses in the original in favour of a simpler paratactical sequence, casting overboard as he does so the now unnecessary *ἐπειδήπερ*. Without injury to the sense he renders *πεπληροφορημένων* 'fully established' by *uló* 'come to pass' 'fulfilled,' as in the English Version (Vulgate 'quae in nobis completae sunt'). In verse 2, influenced perhaps by the ambiguous rendering of both Authorized and Revised Versions, he reads *thai amé-da, sa dikhlijám ta axáliljam katár o načálo, thai sikhjardjám adalká čačé alavá*, lit. 'and we saw and understood everything from the beginning, and we taught these true words,' instead of *thai ol-da sa dikhle ta axálile . . . thai sikhjardé*, etc.

As another example we may take Mr. Gilliat-Smith's version of the Lord's Prayer (chapter xi.), which runs as follows:—

2. *Dáda-be amaró, kai sinján tu ándo nébos, t'ovél sfjato to aláv, t'ovél to thagaripé. T'ovél to kamibé hem ándo nébos hem ándi phuv.*

3. *De-ta aménge séko diés amaró maró.*

4. *Prostín-ta aménge amaré bezexá, sostár amé-da prostínas saorénge, kai isi aménge dlžniki. Ma igál amén ándo iskušénipé, amí t'ikerés amén e džungalibnástar.*

This text affords a good illustration of the difficulty of expressing in Romani undefiled any word with an ethical or religious connotation. 'Heaven' is rendered by the Slavic *nébos*, while

curiously enough the *οὐρανός* of the original survives in the Welsh Gypsy *ravnos*.¹ 'Hallowed' is translated by the Slavic loan-word *sfjáto* 'holy' (a cognate of *sanctus*), for which there is hardly an exact Romani synonym, *ukljardo* 'exalted' being perhaps the nearest equivalent. 'Forgive' is expressed by the Slavic *prostín-*, a purely local borrowing, the word which has been carried northwards being the Rumanian *iert-* (from Low Latin *libertare*), which survives in Rum. Gyp. *ertis-*, Buk. Gyp. *jertis-*, Hung. Gyp. *ertín-*, Eng. Gyp. *artav-* (Borrow *Lavo-Lil*), and W. Gyp. *ātav-*. 'Indebted' is rendered by the Slav. *dlžniki* 'debtors,'² where one might have expected original *udžilé*, which word, however, in this dialect seems to stand for the converse idea. Compare vi. 34, where it serves as a gloss to *nazáem* 'loan.'

For 'temptation' (*πειρασμός*) we have *iskušenipé*, with which compare Rumanian Gyp. *zumaimos* from Podhradský's version of the same clause in the dialect of the Zombor Gypsies.³ 'From evil' (*ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ*) is translated *e džungalibnástar*,⁴ the better original word *doš* (from Skr. *doṣa* 'fault,' 'evil,' 'harm') being perhaps lacking in this, as in the Greek dialect. In verse 3 Mr. Gilliat-Smith ignores the important word *ἐπιούσιον*, where, if he accepts the meaning 'daily' of our English version, and the 'cotidianum' of the Vulgate, he might have read *amaró maró o dieséskoro* or, with the dative, *amaró maró e dieséske*. If, however, the meaning of this much-debated word is really 'necessary for existence,' this sense might have been rendered quite simply and in accordance with Romani idiom *amaró maró te xas*, 'panem nostrum ut edamus.'

¹ The same word occurs in the English Gypsy vocabulary of Jacob Bryant under the form *ravoo* or *ravoos* (*Archaeologia*, vol. vii., 1785), ed. by me in the *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iv. 176, where I hazarded the conjecture that it might be connected with Slavic *raj* 'paradise.' This defunct etymology, the mortal weakness of which I discovered a month or two later, may now be decently interred. Friends will please accept this, the only, intimation!

² Welsh Gypsy has the interesting *velveliégerō* 'debtor' from *velvel* 'debt,' a word, so far as I am aware, not recorded in any other dialect. Probably, like Cont. Gyp. *balval* 'wind' from Skr. *vāta*, a reduplicated form, perhaps originating in Skr. *balí* 'tax,' 'impost,' 'tribute.'

³ Miklosich, *Mundarten*, viii. 99, where the caus. verb *zumav-* would seem literally to mean 'to try,' 'to test.' Cp. Welsh Gypsy *zumav-* 'to interrogate,' 'to examine,' *zumaviben* 'interrogation,' 'cross-examination.' This word, for which Miklosich suggests no etymology, probably comes from Rum. *examina*, 'prüfen,' 'untersuchen.'

⁴ Possibly in view of the force of the Greek article, and the analogy of similar Jewish prayers, the phrase had been better translated *e Bengkéstár* 'from the Evil One.'

Glancing next at the translation of official, theological, and other technical terms in this Gospel, we find only a very small number of true Romani words, including under this head original words, ancient Iranian borrowings, as well as such European loan-words as were absorbed into the speech by the early Gypsy settlers in the Peloponnesus before the dispersion in the fifteenth century. Here we have *xuláj* 'lord' or 'master' (beside Slav. *Góspod* or *Góspodos*); *thagár* (= Arm. *t'agavor*) 'king' (*Βασιλεύς*) or 'Caesar' (*καῖσαρ*) beside Slavic *kralis*, reminiscent of Carolus Magnus, the former word being used also for 'chief' or 'magistrate' (*ἄρχων*); *amál* 'disciple,' lit. 'companion' (beside Slav. *učenikos*); *sikljardé* 'scribes' or 'doctors of the law' (beside Slav. *pisárja*); *rašajá* 'priests' or 'Pharisees' (beside *Farizéi* in the latter sense); *geraló* 'leper,' *bezexéngere* 'sinners' (beside Slav. *grexéngere*), and *bipakjané* 'unbelievers'; *kangerí* 'temple' or 'synagogue,' *thuv* 'incense,' *paramisi* 'parable,' *kurké* 'on the Sabbath day,' and *patravdi* 'Passover' (properly 'Easter,' from *patrín* 'a [palm-] leaf'); *bolipé* 'baptism,' *genipé* 'enrolment,' *bibáxt* 'woe,' *lošanibé* 'rejoicing,' *godiaveripé* 'wisdom,' and *dwi-mujalipé* 'hypocrisy' or 'craftiness' (with which compare the Welsh Gypsy *dūi-moñeró* (m.) -i (f.) 'a deceitful person,' *dūi-moñō* 'deceitful,' lit. of the two faces').¹

Most of these technical terms are, however, expressed by recent loan-words, chiefly of Slavic or Turkish origin.² Thus 'publican,' i.e. tax-gatherer (*τελώνης*), is generally rendered by the Turkish *gümrükçis*, though once in the plural by Bulgarian *mitárja* (iii. 12). 'Angel' or 'messenger' (*ἄγγελος*) is variously translated by the Greek *angelos* or Slav. *rasltnikos*, the latter word standing also for 'prophet' (*προφήτης*) and 'apostle' (*ἀπόστολος*). 'Prophet,' however, is more commonly rendered by Slav. *prorókos*, and once in the plural *sfjáte manuśá* lit. 'holy men' (i. 70), while 'prophetess'

¹ This list, I may explain, makes no claim to be exhaustive.

² From Slavic sources, especially Bulgarian and Servian, we have *zakónos* 'law,' 'commandments' (*νόμος*), and *zakónnikos* 'lawyer' (*νομικός*); *pokázos* 'decree' (*δῆγμα*); *zaimodávtsos* 'creditor' (*δανειστής*); *izménnikos* 'traitor' (*προδότης*); and *paródos* 'people,' 'multitude' (*ὄχλος*), beside Turkish *kalabaléki*; *mólba* 'prayer' (*δέησις*); *kájanje* 'repentance' (*μετάνοια*); *iskušénje* 'temptation' (*πειρασμός*); *spasítelos* 'Saviour' (*σωτήρ*), and *spasénje* 'salvation' (*σωτηρία*), beside original *lačipé*; *vúskresénje* 'resurrection' (*ἀνάστασις*), beside original *uštjaiidé*, and Turkish *ikaméti*. From Turkish or Turkish-Arabic:—*Vdli* 'governor' (*ἡγεμών*); *hakémi* 'judge' (*κριτής*), beside Slavic *súdnikos* (*δικαστής*); *jüzbađi* 'centurion' (*ἐκατόνταρχος*); *askéri* 'soldier' (*στρατιώτης*); *xiemetdžis* or *xiemetkjári* 'steward' (*οἰκονόμος*), beside *kjája* (*ἐπίτροπος*); *ketápja* 'Scriptures' (*γραφή*); and *đahidléki* 'testimony' (*μαρτυρία*, *μαρτύριον*), beside *đehadéti*, or with *ker-*, 'to bear witness' (*μαρτυρέω*), and with *da-* *bicačunó*, 'to bear false witness' (*ψευδομαρτυρέω*).

(*προφήτης*) is *poznaválka* (ii. 36). While these variant translations of terms, which have commonly but one form in the original text, serve to illustrate the free adoption of synonymous loan-words in this dialect, it may be doubted whether their use here is quite consonant with the general practice of Biblical translators, or the folk-tale convention of one name for one idea.

Thus in the ten verses containing references to 'preaching the gospel'—all expressed in the original by some part of the verb *εὐαγγελίζω* 'to bring good news'—Mr. Gilliat-Smith has the several renderings:—*an* . . . *noviná*, or *lačé noviná* 'to bring news, or good news' (i. 19, ii. 10), *vaker-* . . . *šeilér* 'to tell wonders' (iii. 18), *vaker-* . . . *e Devléskoro alá* 'to tell the word of God' (iv. 18, xvi. 16), *vaker-* . . . *uprál* or *izvaker-* 'to tell,' 'to declare' (iv. 43, viii. 1), *propovedín- o vakeribé e Devléskoro* 'to preach the speech of God' (ix. 6), or (passive) *propovjedínjov- o evangélje* 'the Gospel is preached' (vii. 22), and lastly *četín- o evangélje* 'to read the Gospel' (xx. 1).

In passages quoted in the earlier part of this paper I have endeavoured to show how perfect an instrument for the expression of simple thought this Bulgarian-Gypsy dialect proves in the hands of a skilful translator like Mr. Gilliat-Smith, especially in his use of the beautiful participial, passive and gerundial forms which are sadly to seek in British Romani. On the other hand it must be recognized that Bulgarian, like Greek Romani, lacks, or only possesses in a very undeveloped state, some important grammatical formations, which are found in the Northern dialects. I refer especially to the use of the suffix *-kora*, *-kera*, *-kra* or *-ka* (Skr. *kṛta*), which, joined to the oblique stem (sing. or plur.) of any noun, forms genitive adjectives, that may again assume all the functions of new substantives of either gender. This natural organic growth, which may indeed be regarded as the mainspring of European Romani, has supplied the language with a new motive power that largely compensates for the poverty of its vocabulary, and, by these formations from Indian verbal or nominal stems, tends to preserve the small original stock of words from the encroachment of foreign elements.

To this cause must be attributed the otherwise surprising fact that, in spite of serious losses by the way, the dialects of Central and Northern Europe 'as spoken to-day' excel in vocabularial purity those of the more primitive Bulgarian and Rumanian Gypsies. Thus, if we compare Mr. Gilliat-Smith's Bulgarian-

Romani in this Gospel of St. Luke with the South-German Gypsy of the Gospel of St. Mark, it is apparent at a glance that in spite of the much greater grammatical accuracy of the former, the percentage of original words in the German dialect is much higher than in that of Bulgaria, with the consequent result that the less perfect of the two forms of Romani is nevertheless more generally intelligible to the average Gypsy or Gypsy scholar.

It may be worth while then to trace shortly the gradual development of this rich and fertile formative suffix in the several European dialects. In Bulgarian, as in Graeco-Turkish Romani, these adjectival formations in *-kora* or *-kera* (Mr. Gilliat-Smith apparently uses both spellings) seem only rarely to serve as substantives, while precisely the same form is used for the genitive-adjective (Pott's *sogenannter Genitiv*) and the noun-substantive. Moreover the latter are, as Paspatis tells us, incapable of inflection in the oblique cases,¹ so that in the picturesque phrase of Sylvester Boswell they are 'dead words.' In Rumanian and Hungarian Romani we find a further development, contracted forms in *-ka* beside others in *-kera* being met with in adjectival usages,² while only the longer form may serve as a substantive. Inflection of these substantives is still rare, though isolated instances occur in Constantinescu's folk-tales and in Müller's *Beiträge*. In German Gypsy we see that the number of these substantival formations has vastly increased, and the words admit of regular declension, though the single form *-kera* serves both as adjectival and substantival suffix. Finally in Finnish and in Welsh Gypsy, which in this as in so many other features show themselves to descend from the same parent stock, we perceive a still further and more beautiful differentiation. The long forms in *-kera* are now reserved exclusively for substantives, capable of full inflection in all their cases,³ while the adjective when used attributively takes only the short form in *-ka*.³

¹ *Études*, p. 53; see also Miklosich, *Mundarten*, x. 60 (f.), Pott i. 141 (e), Asc. 88 (B), Beames, ii. 275 sqq., 312. Mr. Gilliat-Smith, however, in this Gospel has the forms *bezexengerénsa* (v. 30), *bezexengeréne* (vii. 34), and *drabengerénde* (viii. 43), though I do not remember to have met with any instances of such inflections in his printed folk-tales.

² E.g. : W. Gyp. *mutärimayeridkeri* 'woman who hawks tea,' *bëreyeréskerö* 'of the sailor,' *bütliakeridki* 'to the maid-servant,' *moskeréndë* 'from the constables,' *börë-böšimayeriénsa* 'with the harps.'

³ I should add that in the Welsh dialect the further distinction is regularly observed, that in predicative constructions the longer form in *-kera* is invariably used : e.g. *leskö* (*dadéskö*) *jukel*, but *leskerö* (*i dadéskerö*) *e'ö jukel*. Traces of the same tendency may be noted in Constantinescu's folk-tale, *Ol trin rakliä ol thagareske*

This wonderful piece of grammatical machinery or rather natural apparatus, which has become so delicate and powerful a means of expression in the two latter dialects, exists, as I have pointed out, only in a crude form in Bulgarian Romani—a circumstance which largely accounts for the number of exotic words necessarily employed by the translator in lieu of the genuine Romani derivatives so common in other dialects.

Thus, selecting a few instances, we have *ovčárja* 'shepherds' (ii. 8, 9, 18), Welsh Gyp. *bakaréyerē*; *svindárja* 'swineherds' (viii. 34), W. Gyp. *bōlēyerē*; *slúga* (m.), *slugínja* (f.), 'man-servant,' 'maid-servant' (i. 54, xii. 45, xxii. 56, etc.), W. Gyp. *būtiakerō*, -ī (f.); *askéri* 'soldier' (iii. 14, etc.), W. Gyp. *kūrimānerō*; *jesiri* 'captive' (iv. 19), W. Gyp. *starimāskerō*; *dilendžis* 'beggar' (xvi. 22), W. Gyp. *maṇimānerō*; *prorókos* or *rasilnikos* 'prophet' (iv. 17, vii. 26, etc.), Germ. Gyp. *turkepaskero* (with which compare W. Gyp. *drukerimānerō* 'preacher,' 'minister of the word'); *xardálos* 'mustard' (xvii. 6), W. Gyp. *tatē-moskerō*; *fákos* 'snare' (xxi. 35) W. Gyp. *t'ilimāneri*.

Another grammatical feature in which Bulgarian Romani—brave speech though it be—appears somewhat at a disadvantage compared with other dialects, is in its unhistoric use of the formal accusative after prepositions and certain verbs. This greatly over-worked case, in addition to its true function of expressing the direct object, here serves instead of and beside the prepositional (Paspatis's dative 1, Miklosich's accusative with *te*) after prepositions—e.g. *andé dromén* (xiv. 17) beside *andé jekhé gavéste* (i. 26); *bičhalél anglál pes* (x. 1) beside *anglál e Devléste* (i. 6); *katár te mos* (xix. 22) beside *katár e čhavénde Israeléskoro* (i. 16, etc.); *mamúi e Devlés* (ii. 52) beside *mamúi mánde* (iv. 7), *mamúi e narodóste* (vii. 1, etc.); *geló sa palál les* (v. 1) beside *gelé palál léste* (v. 11); *thovél paš len* (ix. 47) beside *paš pe amalénde* (ii. 44, etc.); and *uprál pe dumés* (ii. 12) beside *uprál jekhé vučé thanéste* (iv. 29).¹ It also stands for and beside the dative to express the indirect object, not only as in other dialects occasionally after such verbs as *is-* (= 'to have'), *da-*, *and-*, but also contrary to the

hai o durkaló 'The three princesses and the unclean spirit'—e.g. p. 74, *Oi vardiskerdéa pe dadéske khurés* 'she perceived her father's colt' beside (in the next paragraph) *Akaukhá grast par-cá si me dadéskoro* 'This horse looks just like my father's.'

¹ This use of the accusative after prepositions is perhaps unknown in any other dialect, and may be due to foreign influence. It is particularly unfortunate when, as in the case of *mui* and *drom* in the passages cited above, it suggests the use of the inflected accusative with nouns denoting inanimate objects.

general practice after verbs of saying, e.g. *phen-* and *vaker-*:—*Sóske phenáv tumén* 'For I say into you' (xxii. 37) beside *Sóske tuménge phenáva* (iii. 8, xxii. 18, etc.); *Šerén-ta-tumén . . . sar tumén vakerdjás* 'Remember how he spake unto you' (xxiv. 6) beside *sar amaré dadénge vakerdjás* 'as he spake to our fathers' (i. 55, etc.). Lastly, and quite irregularly, it stands for and beside the ablative after verbs of asking, e.g. *phuč-* and *mang-*: *Thai les phučen* 'and [they] asked him saying' (xxii. 64) beside *phučél léstar jek baró* 'and a certain ruler asked him saying' (xviii. 18); *Amá o murš . . . mangélas e Isús, ta te mukjél les* 'now the man . . . besought him [Jesus] that he might be with him' (viii. 38) beside *A mangén e Isústár o bengá ta te na phenél lénge, te džan ándo xoripé* 'and they [the devils] besought him [Jesus] that he would not command them to go out into the deep' (viii. 31).

While Mr. Gilliat-Smith is of course perfectly justified in his frequent use of these abbreviated forms, they would seem to reflect a regrettable tendency in the dialect to supplant the remaining oblique cases by the accusative. So too with other locutions, which, as his folk-tales show, are in common use, but nevertheless send a cold chill down the spine. We have the extraordinary *Avér jek džené vakerén* 'And another said' (xiv. 20) beside *jek džénó* with its rightful singular verb (v. 37). Some borrowed adjectives like *zéleno* 'green,' here, as in the Slovak dialect,¹ are unchanged in the feminine, thereby occasioning such unnatural concords as *I zéleno patrí* (xxi. 30), while on the other hand we find *O Sfjáti Dúxos* beside *to sfjáto biandó* in the same verse (i. 35), though both nouns are of course masculine. Even more anomalous is the use of the Slavic loan-word *slúga* 'servant,' declined throughout as a masculine noun, especially when—I presume in deference to its termination—we find it preceded by the feminine article *i* (xiv. 21, 22) or possessive adjective, e.g. *mi slúga* (vii. 7), a misleading rendering of the original *ó παῖς μου*. Nor is Mr. Gilliat-Smith here again consistent in his practice, since in other passages we find *slúga* qualified by the masculine demonstrative *odovká* (xii. 43, 47), where by analogy we might expect *odiká*.

These comments, it should be needless to add, so far from detracting from the merits of Mr. Gilliat-Smith's translation, are

¹ Von Sowa, *Die Mundart der slovakischen Zigeuner*, p. 64, § 30 b.

rather a testimony to the fidelity with which he has followed the exact practice of his Gypsy vernacular. As purists we may regret these little lapses on the part of Bulgarian Romani, but let the dialect that is without fault be the one to cast the first stone.¹ None is perfect—*André mē dadéskē keréstī sī būt bešibend!*

JOHN SAMPSON.

'The Indian Origin of the Gypsies in Europe.' By A. C. WOOLNER.

A paper read on November 29, 1912, and now printed in the *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, vol. ii., no. 2, pp. 118-137. Calcutta: printed at the Baptist Mission Press, and published by the Panjab Historical Society, Lahore, 1914.

Solutions for the riddle of Gypsy origin have been proposed too often by persons who were blinded either by prejudice or by exclusive devotion to one line of reasoning, and in writing this paper, where due weight is given to all kinds of evidence,—ethnological, historical, and linguistic,—Professor Woolner has rendered a notable service to Gypsy lore. His service is the greater since, by publishing his conclusions in India, he has sought to interest scholars in that country, whence, rather than from Europe, it is reasonable to expect the new knowledge which may some day establish the identity of the race.

The article is divided into six parts: (1) A general introduction (pp. 118-119), (2) the Jat theory (pp. 119-125), (3) the Dard theory (pp. 125-126), (4) the Dom theory (pp. 127-131), (5) the Indian Gypsy (or Sānsi) theory (pp. 131-134), and (6) Romani philology (pp. 134-137).

After the introduction Professor Woolner recapitulates the historical details by which de Goeje supported the view that Gypsies are Jats, a theory which 'offers a plausible explanation for the presence in Europe by the 14th century or earlier of tribes of Indian origin: nomadic, as the Jats originally were, at home in the jungle like the Jats, and equally of thievish propensities.' But, after demonstrating the weakness of Groome's linguistic refutation (*Gypsy Folk-Tales*, p. xxxv), he rejects the theory as very improbable, on the ground that there are great and fundamental differences between the characters of the typical Gypsy and the typical Jat.

¹ One might continue the quotation, 'And they, when they heard it, went out one by one beginning from the eldest even unto the last'—a sad procession, in which Spanish Gitano and 'Anglo-Scottish' Gypsy might possibly jostle in the doorway.

In early times the latter was 'A sturdy pastoral peasant; being pastoral, ever ready to wander into pastures new. Industrious and successful even in unpromising marshes. Impatient of interference; and a bold and stubborn fighter when set to it. Quite at home in the wilder parts of the country, and a formidable thief when he takes to robbery.' Nowadays, in the Panjab, where his tribe forms more than a quarter of the population, the Jat 'has probably taken to agriculture to a greater extent than formerly, but otherwise his characteristics seem to have remained much the same ever since the seventh century. . . . Psychologically the Jat, though possessed of much shrewd common sense, is not subtle or quickwitted, not clever like the typical Gypsy.' The Gypsy, of course, 'wanders, indeed much more so than the Jat; he haunts the wilds, but he is not industrious; he has not the makings of a soldier; his thefts are usually petty by guile and stealth, rather than by violence. . . . Hence it is difficult to regard the Gypsies as descended from Jats unless it be from some low-caste "Jats" who should properly be classed as something else,' for instance as Doms, for Professor Woolner mentions that 'on the Lower Indus many Dûms were apparently returned in the 1891 census as Jats.'

This is conclusive; but it should not be forgotten that de Goeje abandoned the Jat theory in the final edition of his work (*Mémoire sur les migrations des Tsiganes à travers l'Asie*, 1903, p. 83), claiming only that Gypsies were probably present in the hordes of emigrants whose movements he traced, and not even contending that these hordes were composed exclusively of Jats, a word which Persian and Arab authors used as a generic term for any people who came from the valley of the Indus. Professor Woolner himself admits this when he says that the use of *Zutt* in Arabic is 'far from proving that those musicians [imported by Bahrâm Gôr] were Jats in any Indian sense'; and, as a matter of fact, de Goeje's historical conclusions might be combined with almost any theory of Gypsy origin, if it be held that, contrary to their usual custom, the early Gypsies left India in one great horde.

If the Jat theory is *par excellence* the historical theory, the Dard theory is certainly the proud bantling of philology. Pischel's suggested connexion between a supposed dispersal of Dard Gypsies and certain disturbances in Dardistan in the thirteenth century has little force apart from the linguistic argument, and this ignis fatuus has 'led us to the mountain valleys of Kāfiristān

and left us there perplexed, with no Gypsies or likelihood of Gypsies for a hundred miles around.' It is based on the fact that 'in certain respects Romani agrees with the Kāfir and Dard languages. . . . The resemblance of these languages to Romani is not obvious. The enquirer's general impression will certainly be that Romani is more like some old form of Hindi than it is like say Baṣgali. Nevertheless it is true that both Romani and Baṣgali retain ancient groups of consonants such as *tr*, *dr*, and especially *St* or *Sht*, which disappeared in the Prākritis, and that both replace the sonant aspirates by a surd.' On the first and last points no stress can be laid, for the groups *tr*, *dr* can be paralleled in North-West Indian dialects as in Sindhi, while in typical Panjābi the sonant aspirates (*bh*, *dh*, *gh*), though written, are pronounced unvoiced, with a peculiar glottal sound instead of the ordinary breath. And finally Professor Woolner, having thus almost destroyed the forlorn hope which lay in the Hindu Kush, points out that even 'if a relation between Romani (or certain elements in Romani) and say Baṣgali be considered proved, it by no means follows that the ancestors of the European Gypsies ever lived in the valleys of Kāfiristān, still less that these were their original home,' for 'at any time previous to the Pathān occupation [end of the tenth century], nomads passing from the Panjāb to Persia must have passed through a band of N.W. Indian dialects, which there is some reason to suppose were related to the Kāfir languages.'

In discussing the Dom theory Professor Woolner accepts, as was indeed inevitable after Mr. Gilliat-Smith's discovery (*J. G. L. S.*, iv. 292-6), the connexion of the Gypsy word *Rom* with the Indian word *Dom*, and then illustrates the meaning of the latter by a number of descriptions which show that Doms in general have Gypsy-like occupations although a mass of people very heterogeneous in cast, appearance, and language are included under the name. The references he quotes 'give us the Domba as a hunter, musician, minstrel and outcaste as far back as the 10th century in Kashmir (the Dom as a minstrel in Sindh). Taking all this together, it seems reasonable to suppose that all these varieties of Doms, Dums, Dumnās, etc., represent an ancient pre-Aryan race which included hunters, metal-workers, musicians; that they were reduced to menial offices, or found a refuge in the jungle.'

To the linguistic objection to the Dom theory Professor Woolner attaches little weight, for 'If we have to assume that

they learnt the Aryan language in the hill districts of the U.P., we shall find it a difficult task to prove that their version of this could not have produced European Romani.' The fact that 'there has been no obvious reason or occasion for the migration of Doms into Europe . . . loses its force if we admit that the minstrels of Afghānistān and Dardistān have wandered out of India, and if, together with the known wide range of Doms, we remember that in the Middle Ages the whole world from Delhi to Rome was even more open to the sturdy beggar and cunning rogue than it is now.' There remains, however, one difficulty which militates against the acceptance of the theory that Gypsies and Doms are kin: 'the appearance of the typical Dom of the U.P., dark, squat and ugly, seems very different to the handsome Gypsy of the West.' This however, is a matter for the anthropologists, and may be capable of explanation on the ground that the Doms of to-day have lost their racial purity by amalgamation with other tribes.

In the present state of knowledge it is impossible to say anything very conclusive for or against the Indian Gypsy (or Sānsi) theory, of which the most definite statement was made recently by Mr. H. L. Williams (*J. G. L. S.*, v. 34-58, 110-135). After recommending closer and more systematic investigation of these 'wandering and criminal tribes,' Professor Woolner states: 'the general character and way of life of these Indian nomads have such a striking resemblance to those of the European Gypsies, that we need very definite philological or anthropological evidence before we can rule this theory out of court.'

In the section on 'Romani Philology' the great difficulty of the main problem is emphasized: the tracing of the Indian stratum of the language to its source, the more exact determination of the part of India from which the Gypsies came, and the time when they left it. 'This involves a double reconstruction; on one side to work back to what Romani was, when it left the Indian area, on the other to determine the character and distribution of Indian dialects at that time.' Professor Woolner's own view is that the Indian element in Romani is not homogeneous, that 'when Romani left the Indian area it already contained elements picked up in different parts of that area.' In other words, the Indian ancestors of our European Gypsies were themselves wanderers, and then, as now, picked up on their wanderings unconsidered trifles in the shape of words and grammatical forms. This is a reasonable view, so reasonable that

it seems not to have occurred to any previous scholar, and Professor Woolner illustrates it by showing that while the phonetic characteristics already mentioned point to the north-west, certain grammatical features point farther south and east. If his theory of the non-homogeneity of the Indian element of Romani be accepted, 'we should have to assume that the emigrating tribes were for some considerable time in the North-West area, but that they still retained a few tricks of speech derived from the South-East; that is possibly as far away as Faizabad. To sum up,' Professor Woolner thinks 'we may safely reject both the Jat and the Dard theories. The Dom and the Indian Gypsy theory are not necessarily antagonistic, if as Mr. Williams believes, Dom was originally an occupational name applied to certain sorts of Indian Gypsy, or if they are all of the same race. The linguistic evidence seems to point to a slow migration from S.E. to N.W., leaving India by the direction of Peshawar.'

Professor Woolner's object being 'to outline that aspect of the problem which is more particularly concerned with the Panjab, and neighbouring territories,' he has avoided the discussion of certain special problems such, for instance, as the position to be assigned to Asiatic Romani: and he justifies the vagueness and doubtfulness of his results by pointing out 'how little is yet known of the history and relationship of the various Indian nomads or of the linguistic history of different localities in India.'

'A Comparative Vocabulary of the Language of European Gypsies or Romnichal, and Colloquial Hindustani.' By W. KIRKPATRICK. From the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (New Series), vol. ix., no. 2, pp. 93-105, 1913.

Professor Woolner, in a paper which must have appeared almost simultaneously with this vocabulary, recommends students to 'resist the temptation to build on a direct comparison of a single Romani dialect with a single Indian dialect.' One would have thought that such advice was unnecessary, and that the publications of Pott in the forties of the last century, and those of Miklosich in the seventies, must have relegated such work as equating broken Anglo-Romani with a mixed lingua franca like

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modern Hindustani to the limbo where search is still made for the philosopher's stone and the elixir of life. But Mr. Kirkpatrick comes to prove that, for him, the great continental philologists have laboured in vain, and that Professor Woolner's caution is still necessary.

Mr. Kirkpatrick takes up the subject where Harriott left it and having compiled an English-Gypsy vocabulary by the strange process of combining Smart and Crofton with a few additions from other sources such as Professor Macalister's Nuri dialect, adds a series of Hindustani parallels. Taking Borrow as his authority on Gypsy grammar, he makes pitiful shipwreck at the termination *-mengro*. The vocabulary is, of course, full of the most comical absurdities:—aged, *pooroben*; acquaintance, *jin*; flour, *atos*; lady, *beebe*; sing, *ghit ghiv*; tailor, *sunengro*; tinder, *cok mak*, etc.; and under 'Goat, *lavines bokro*,' we are gravely informed that '*Lavines* is a common Gypsy or Romnichal prefix.'

Although Mr. Kirkpatrick cannot be acquitted of the sin of writing before he has mastered his subject, and thus offending against Whitney's rule, 'No man is qualified to compare fruitfully two languages or groups who is not deeply grounded in the knowledge of both,' yet, as his paper is cheering evidence of the growth of Gypsy interest in India, it may meet the circumstances of the case if he be bound over to come up for judgment—with a more carefully compiled article—when called upon.

Echoes. By Sir DONALD MACALISTER, K.C.B. Second Edition.
Glasgow, James MacLehose and Sons, 1913.

Those students of Romani—and they are many—who are interested in the experiment of coaxing the tongue of an uncultivated folk to render the thoughts of a higher civilisation, will give a cordial welcome to the second edition of Principal Sir Donald MacAlister's *Echoes*. The original edition, reviewed in this journal seven years ago, contained twenty-two quatrains of Omar Khayyám and R. L. Stevenson's 'The Vagabond' translated into Welsh Romani. Among the six fresh pieces added to the new issue are *I Gozhvali Gáji* and *O Droméngro*, which are already favourites with the members of the Gypsy Lore Society.



to denote the position occupied by Gypsies in Scotland in the reign of James the Sixth.

The document in question is a remission or pardon granted to Sir Alexander Menzies of Weem on the 30th of March 1620, and

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JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

NEW SERIES

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No. 4

I.—THE CRIME OF HARBOURING GYPSIES

By DAVID MACRITCHIE

THE dispersion of the Castle Menzies MSS. at Edinburgh, on the 19th of March 1914, was an event of great importance to historians, genealogists, and all who concern themselves with the past life of Scotland. A melancholy interest attached to the sale, as it marked 'the end of an auld sang'—the extinction in the male line of a Highland family of long and honourable standing. Nevertheless, it was not a wholly regrettable occasion. The records of the family were undoubtedly dispersed for ever, but, on the other hand, these documents became released, singly or in groups, for the benefit of many investigators who would never have had an opportunity of examining them in the charter-room at Castle Menzies. The present writer, for example, congratulates himself on having become in this way the possessor of a document which serves, if only in a minor degree, to denote the position occupied by Gypsies in Scotland in the reign of James the Sixth.

The document in question is a remission or pardon granted to Sir Alexander Menzies of Weem on the 30th of March 1620, and

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is endorsed, in a handwriting of the eighteenth or early nineteenth century, 'Discharge Alex^r Forbes, Servitor to the Duke of Lenox, To Sir Alex^r. Menzies of Weem for resetting Egyptians, 1620.' It is in these terms:—'I alexander forbes servitour to the duck of lenox dischargis sir alex^r mengyes for the reseting of the egyptianis for the tyme bygon 1620 yeires, and Incais the lyk danger recurr heirafter his haill moueable guidis sall be confiskt, uithout fauor to be granted by the Kingis tresorer or his tresorer depute. and this sall be suffitent to uarand the said s^r alexander menges the laird of ueime in producing this discharge which I haue ureiten and subscriuet u^t my oun hand befor thir uitnes Jhone Forbes burges of edinbrughe and James nasmithe uitneses the penalt of marche 1620.

James nesmyth Witnes

Forbes uith my hand

Jo: Forbes Witnes.'

With regard to the social position of the granter of this warrant, it may be pointed out that he was probably a man of good family. In referring to a certain Malcolm Threipland, described in the year 1600 as 'servitor' to John Hay of Smeithfield, a Peeblesshire gentleman, Dr. Robert Chambers observes that by this term 'is meant, in the language of the age, a gentleman adherent, accustomed to bear arms for his superior.' He further cites the instance of David Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh who 'is described in 1601 as servant to Hamilton of Innerwick, while we know that he was a man of family.'

Whatever may have been the precise rank of Alexander Forbes, servitor to the Duke of Lennox, he appears on this occasion as one of those authorized by the Privy Council of Scotland to grant official pardons to any one found guilty of giving shelter to Gypsies, contrary to the terms of the Act of Parliament of 1609. This fact is made quite evident by a similar pardon which he granted on the 6th of May 1620, at Elgin, to Alexander Gordon of Sidray. It is a little remarkable that two such warrants, issued within a few weeks of each other, should have been preserved for nearly three centuries in the mansions of two landed families of East-Central Scotland. The second of these is quoted in full by Captain Dunbar in his *Social Life in Former Days* (2nd Series, Edinburgh, 1866, p. 128), the original document being preserved either in Duffus House or Lesmurdie Cottage. In the Elgin warrant, Forbes again designates himself servitor to the Duke of Lennox, and he goes on to state that he is acting by

virtue of his patent, given by the Privy Council, to grant remissions to all guilty persons who had reset 'the Egyptians,' contrary to the Act of Parliament. He thereupon gives to the Laird of Sidray 'a frie remistioune and discharge, for the King's pairt and myne, for the said fact.'

The Duke of Lennox of this time was Ludovick Stuart, second duke, one of the favourites of James VI. When only a lad of fifteen, he ruled as governor of the east of Scotland, while the King was absent in Denmark. Five years later, the King left him as his lieutenant in the North, after suppressing the insurrection under Huntly and Errol. In 1607, this same Duke of Lennox acted as the King's Commissioner to the Parliament of Scotland. These circumstances may be noted, but it is quite likely that the position of the Duke of Lennox had no special bearing upon the powers conferred by the Privy Council upon his servitor, Alexander Forbes. The latter had presumably paid for the licence granted to him, in the same way as the religious pardoners of earlier times had paid for their licences, and with the same aim of personal profit. It is not to be supposed that the Lairds of Weem and Sidray obtained their remissions until they had first paid a substantial fee to the holder of the royal patent. One can easily see what a good thing it was for Mr. Alexander Forbes to possess such powers. The practice of giving shelter to Gypsies was then quite common, and a licensed pardoner for that offence could find many wealthy victims all over Scotland. With the aid of informers, he could have a large number of such cases brought before him, and then it was simply a matter of ascertaining how much the delinquent was prepared to pay.

It is one of the many anomalies of anti-Gypsy legislation that licences such as that held by Alexander Forbes in 1620 were themselves contrary to law. The very Act of Parliament which Forbes cites in his remission to Gordon of Sidray contains a clause annulling all such warrants. That Act, passed in 1609, was a ratification (c. 13) of a proclamation made by the Privy Council in June 1603, and taking effect in the following August, the closing sentences of which are these:—'Discharging all letters, protections, and warrants whatsoever purchased by the saids Egyptians or any of them from his Majestie or Lords of Secreet Councell, for their remaining within this Realme as surreptitiouslie and deceatfullie obtained by their knowlege. Annulling also all warrants purchased or hereafter to be purchased by any subject

of whatsoever ranke within this Kingdome for their reset, interteining or doing any manner of favour to the saids Egiptians at any tyme after the said first day of August next to come for now and ever.' Forbes does not specify the date of his patent, but as he accuses the Laird of Sidray of contravening the Act of 1609, it is obvious that he had been licensed by the Privy Council after that date. That is to say, the Privy Council violated their own edict of 1603, as well as the subsequent Act.

That the Church also made money out of this offence of harbouring Gypsies is seen from the records of the Presbytery of Aberdeen, where, under date 28th April 1608, it is stated that the Presbytery fined two men two marks apiece because they confessed to having sold meat and drink to Gypsies, whom they had entertained in their houses. They were, moreover, ordained to make repentance before the pulpit, on their knees, on the Sunday week following. A like punishment was threatened to a certain Alexander Anderson, at the Waulk-Mylne of Drum, unless he could produce written evidence in support of his allegation that he had done nothing without a warrant and commandment from the Laird and Lady of Drum,—Alexander Irvine and his wife Lady Marion Douglas, daughter of the Earl of Buchan.

Both before and after that date, many 'resetters'¹ of Gypsies in Great Britain occupied the highest positions. Francis Hindes Groome refers 'to the entertainment that Thomas Earl of Surrey gave to "Gypsions" at Tendring Hall, in Stoke-by-Nayland, Suffolk, some time between 1513 and 1524; to the dance of "Egyptianis" at Holyrood House before King James the Fifth in 1530; and to the Romani city of refuge, Roslin Castle. A pleasant story that of Father Hay's,' he continues, 'how about 1623 Sir William Sinclair "delivered ane Egyptian from the gibbet in the Burrow Moore, ready to be strangled, returning from Edinburgh to Roslin, upon which accoumpt the whole body of Gypsies were, of old, accustomed to gather in the stanks of Roslin every year, where they acted severall plays, dureing the moneths of May and June. There are two towers which were allowed them for their residence, the one called Robin Hood, the other Little John."' There was a dead set made against these Roslin Gypsies, however; and their captain and seven of his men were hanged in the latter part of January 1624, at the place of execution on the Burgh Muir. Nevertheless, the frequent 'reset' of Gypsies by people in

¹ Those who have given receipt to; otherwise, receivers.

high position is a striking fact, the meaning of which cannot be properly understood until the significance of the mediæval term 'Egyptian' has been clearly defined.

II.—REBEKKA DEMETER

By JOHAN MISKOW¹

IN April 1911, the Gypsies came again to this part of the country (Broust), and two tents were put up on the half-yearly fair-ground in Halvrimmen. When I went to look I met two black-bearded men in the inn, and greeted them with glad surprise, *Droboj to!* We fell easily into conversation, and they told me that they were brothers, sons of Johan Demeter, who died two years ago in Randers, and that Rebekka was their mother's name. As soon as I heard this I knew that the family had been banished from Denmark in 1903.² Afterwards a younger brother sixteen years old came in. It was a month since they left Norway and began their journey in Vendsyssel, and they were here on business, horse-dealing, having with them also a hired man, a grinder.

Presently Rebekka appeared. She is a woman of nearly fifty, with a beautifully formed face, and wearing chains and rings. I went with them to the tents, where I found a daughter of Carl Petterson, Erga (or Anna), married to Joška the second son, and an old woman named Babi married to Ruva, the oldest of the men there, and besides these Rebekka's unmarried children.

Children of the late Johan Demeter and Rebekka (Sago), 48.

Robert (Rúva) Demeter, 25 = Babi, 63.

Josef (Joška or Beršiko), 23 = Anna (Erga or Margúna),
21.

Johan (Jovana), 16.

Sofi, 12.

Ventsel (Ventso), 7.

Rose (Lolúdja), 3.

¹ I have to express my gratitude to Miss Martha Nielson for making the English translation, and to the Rev. F. G. Ackerley for revising it.

² Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, iv. 240.

As this Gypsy family stayed in the neighbourhood of Broust for a week or so, I paid them many visits, and finally we decided that I should travel with them. The journey began in this manner: With my baggage, consisting of bedding and a zither, I arrived in Halvrimmen, where the whole family were assembled to welcome me, and was led to Robert and Babi's tent, where soon afterwards they served coffee for me. *Pi kafeja* (drink coffee), said the old lady, *tu hal rom, na gadžo* (you are a Gypsy, not a peasant). The bargain was that I agreed to lend them money with which to buy a horse, and that after disposing of the horse I was to have half the price as well as all the profit. Only the profit was paid, the half-sum never,—that proved the black page of the story, though otherwise they were honest and agreeable to me. They gave me the best of the daily food, made my bed, wrapped me up, and were quite touching in their attentions and courtesies, for they seemed to be generous people, who understood how to approach their neighbours in a peaceable way.

Among themselves, unfortunately, they were less peaceable, and there were often quarrels between the women. Babi, who was sixty-five, agreed extremely ill with her younger mother-in-law Rebekka, and the two kept apart as much as possible. 'She is so foolish,' Babi always said—that, as a rule, was her opinion of every one. When she told fortunes by tracing the lines of the hand she invariably began: 'You have many foolish friends. You think many thoughts—do you understand me? You will get a letter with good news. You will live long: you will surely live to be seventy. You will not have many children—only six.' The young people were always delighted with her prophecy, the conclusion especially amusing them. Babi pilfered too—a chicken here and there, and firewood—or she forgot to pay for things, which caused trouble and annoyance to the family. She has never learnt wisdom by discomfort and suffering, even though she has been chased away for a day or two. She can, however, be pleasant, cheerful, and hospitable. She is a little, strongly-built woman, but always coughing. Her clan have been flax-cultivators in Germany, and she herself formerly lived in poverty. After losing four children, she ran away from her sick husband, and captured Robert when he was neither man nor boy. They are not married. Rebekka says that she bewitched him, but Babi retorts that she was persuaded to it by her mother-in-

law. Rebekka was properly married, a fact upon which she prides herself, and she and her daughter-in-law have passed half a score of years in constant discord. Now and then Babi has decided on flight; gone half a kilometre, thought better of it, and returned. Robert is really kind and is sorry for the old woman. Whenever he is away Babi speaks well of him: 'Ruva is so wise, Ruva is so clever, Ruva is so good,' but when he is with her she finds fault with the least trifle if it does not fall in with her ideas.

Rebekka is the chief and leader. She has an exceedingly clear head, is smooth and subtle in her manners, and knows how to use her small vocabulary of Danish and German to the best advantage, so that her talk is cleverly pleasing and gains her respect. I often had occasion to admire and wonder at her good temper on the road: even on gloomy days of rain she had a joke with every one. 'What a beautiful lady you are,' she remarked to a girl who did not respond to her greeting, 'you are just about as black as I am: we two are a pair.' 'See how well the lass walks, almost like a policeman,' was her criticism of a woman who looked very self-conscious. By such sallies she could as a rule make us all laugh. But when she drank, Rebekka grew rough, and being unable to express offensive sentiments in Danish, said them in other languages. Not infrequently she became intoxicated, and then she was full of malice, which she poured out against Babi and Ruva: 'Old woman and young man agree like fire and water.' She often struck her grown-up sons, but they had too much respect for her to retaliate, though the youngsters ventured to tease her, especially Ventso.

Rebekka was conscientious, and had a high sense of justice. Once when her sons had made a bargain with a neighbour, getting a bicycle and some money in exchange for a horse, the neighbour's wife was angry about the affair. As soon as Rebekka found this out she sent the boys to make a new bargain and accept five kroner less than they had obtained at first, saying that they valued good neighbours, and that her sons ought to deal fairly with them.

Anna was an industrious housekeeper and expert at fine sewing. 'Don't be so bashful,' she would say when we happened to meet on the way to the shop where Babi had sent me for oil or bread. As a rule she spoke to me in Norwegian, and she

and Sofi taught me many Romani sentences. As I have mentioned already, she belonged to a different tribe, being the daughter of Carl Petterson, and it is fortunate that she has a strict mother-in-law, because formerly she was somewhat loose in her conduct. Four months after her wedding in Bergen (Norway) she had a baby. The child died later, but she is still often obliged to hear her past brought up against her, and how she went about alone and was an adulteress.

Her husband Joška has a fine head, but is slender and does not look strong. He has lost nearly all his teeth, and is not as active as his elder brother, but he fills his place in the household and business. 'We are tourists,' he is fond of saying to strangers, while he waves his arm and makes an elegant bow, brushes the dust off a country dealer's coat, asks the road, or inquires about current news and messages. 'Yes, we will. Certainly, yes—quite right, we shall soon leave,' he assures the policeman who comes to turn them away. So on again they go.

Johan plays the violin exceedingly well, and he can also grind and make bargains. He does not drink alcoholic liquor, has a saving disposition, and is rather plainly clad. He walks heavily, and his nose often troubles him by bleeding when he is selling horses. He is a straightforward boy with quite refined thoughts.

Sofi is twelve and not very pretty, having a broad face and being of heavy build. She is talented and well educated. She and Anna help each other in buying food, and putting up their mother's tent. This work always fell to the share of the women, while the men tended their horses.

Ventso is a quick boy of seven years, with long black curly hair, and beautiful shining eyes. He ran and jumped all day long, and liked to be with his elder brothers in the market-place, where they did not care to see him, fearing he might be hurt.

Lolúdja was three years old, and did not trouble her mother much, as Anna and Sofi looked after her, though when Rebekka did nurse her, she not seldom gave her cognac. Perhaps for that reason Lolúdja developed slowly. But she was quite healthy. She was a quiet little girl, and everybody's pet.

The family is at present (July 1911) in Iceland buying and selling horses; they have been there before, and are expecting

good results from the visit. Their intention was to come back to Denmark in the autumn, and apply for naturalisation. Rebekka is of the opinion that it will be difficult to obtain this, as her husband was an Austrian subject for many years. *Qui vivra, verra!* Rebekka delights in playing a dignified and imposing part, and understands well how to worry the foreign minister of the government with her importunity. She has done so successfully several times.

They become nervous and restless when apart for any length of time, and in consequence nearly always stay together. Last July (1910), however, Rebekka was alone with the children in the house—she is a poor walker on account of her rheumatism—while the rest of the family were travelling near the German frontier. Every day they telephoned to her to prevent uneasiness. Compared with other Gypsies, this family seems more cultured and polite: I seldom heard swearing or bad language, never at any rate anything serious. They have many friends, and Robert in particular is a general favourite. Notwithstanding this, most people were frightened or shy of them, although the Gypsies never hurt or harmed any one even when the tents were so surrounded by noisy crowds that none of them could sleep in the evening. Knowing that, if disturbances of any kind were to happen, they would be turned out of the village, they were careful to avoid offence. Yet people often shut their doors in our faces, and we were sent from one person to another when we wished to arrange for a place in which to pitch our tents. In the spring the Demeters bought a little house in Aaby, but lived outside in their tents until, owing to Babi's carelessness, one of them was burnt.

The tent is erected as follows:—A post is driven into the ground vertically, its top level with the floor of the wagon. A pole three times as long is pushed under the canvas on the wagon, and the canvas unfolded, after which this ridge-pole is raised in the air by a pair of poles joined crossways, which thus support the ridge-pole at the end opposite to the main post near the wagon. The canvas is stretched over the tent-poles, and a curtain is hoisted in front on the driving pole of the wagon, which helps to support the upper cross. Fresh straw is spread on the floor to prevent dampness, the fire is lit, and the tent is soon warm.

The daily food was as follows:—In the morning, coffee made

in a kettle, and with it plenty of milk and sugar. They never ate rye-bread, but always white (French rolls) cut in pieces lengthwise with a pocket-knife, and buttered with a thin layer of butterine. For dinner they generally had a chicken or fowl, bought for money and good words. Supper consisted of bread, sausage, and eggs; these last boiled in the coffee—the quickest and easiest way. We seldom drank tea, but each person poured a little rum or other spirit into his or her coffee.

The Gypsies' toilet consisted in a light morning wash of the face and hands in lukewarm water: failing this they would take a mouthful of water, spit it out on their hands, and use their hands as sponges for their faces. Fifteen minutes later they were again black with smoke. The women's hair was plaited in two long braids, tied together at the ends, pulled down as loops or bows on each side, and decorated with silver charms. Both men and women use an abundance of oil on their hair. Married women always wear kerchiefs over their heads, and all women, married or unmarried, have the usual brightly coloured clothing.

Joška has a complete suit of brown velvet with pearl buttons on the waistcoat. Robert wore long boots, velvet trousers, a blue jacket, red neckerchief, and a green felt hat. The underwear of the men consisted of a red shirt and a divided skirt which was kept on while sleeping.

They were exceedingly hardy, and never felt the cold. Still they used plenty of fuel, and had great quilts stuffed with feathers for bedding. The men are seldom at home in the daytime. If not out on actual business, they would be found at an inn awaiting the chance of a bargain. They traded among themselves too; that is their occupation, and in following it they were restless, and seldom still. Early and late, everywhere the men were eager to deal in horses. Opportunities often occurred on the road, and they would call out to passers-by, 'Will you buy a good horse, sound in wind and limb?' After a little conversation they would admit, 'It is just a little lame in the hind leg,' or 'It has a slight cold.' The horse was probably suffering from a severe attack of the strangles! If the horse really was a good one, and genuinely 'sound in wind and limb,' the result was frequently a mere exchange. It was only at fairs, when the peasants were drunk, that there were possibilities of making profits.

Once when I was with them they narrowly escaped getting into serious trouble for passing off a sick horse as sound. The sheriff from Bronderslev arrived at the fair in Thise during our visit. All at once there was consternation. Robert drank more than was good for him. Babi was simply trembling with fear. Rebekka alone was unmoved, and retained her presence of mind. After a while she formed a wise plan. The tents which had been pitched at a short distance from the fair-ground so as to be out of the way of drunken people, were immediately packed on the wagons, and at nightfall we vanished in the direction of Bronderslev. It was raining and dark, and to make travelling more difficult we had to pass a crowd of carts and drunken people. Robert, like a madman, whipped up the horses, which tore plunging along the road, while the wagon swayed from one side to the other. Suddenly he stopped: he must go over and consult his mother and brother on the other wagon. Then once more we drove on furiously, while Robert sometimes wept over the money he would lose, and sometimes sang strange, woeful, romantic, melodious songs with Babi. Robert and Rebekka insisted on having a drink outside an inn; then on again. 'There is no one like Robert,' he declared, snapping his fingers as though he were dancing. First he would joke, then he would weep.

About midnight we halted at a distance from the town in a ploughed field. Everything was soaked—the ground, our clothes, the canvas of the tent, the wagon—nothing was dry. However, both tents were put up without difficulty, the fire was kindled, and we were just going to enjoy its warmth, when Babi treated us, as so often happened, to one of her dismal scenes. She felt offended at not having been consulted, and reproached Robert for his swindling. At first he paid no attention. As though possessed by an evil spirit she cried out, struck herself, and rocked to and fro over the fire groaning *Ma Devla, muro šero*. Suddenly she took a knife and threw it at him, and a fight followed. Johan and Anna—the latter had been chased out of the tent by her drunken mother-in-law—came in, and by joining forces succeeded in parting the struggling couple. Rebekka fell asleep, Babi's nerves calmed down after the strain, and Robert relapsed into sullen silence.

The next day was fine and sunny, and we drove to Bronderslev, but the bargain had to be cancelled.¹

¹ Rebekka Demeter died in hospital at Göteborg on June 14, 1914.

	Age.	Height, cm.	Head.			Face.		Foot.	
			Length, mm.	Width, mm.	Index.	Length, mm.	Width, mm.	Length, mm.	
MALES									
Rúva .	25	160	178	148	83·1	114	136	235	Hair curled. Nose broad. Nose short. Handsome. Typical. Nose large.
Joška .	23	164	177	148	83·0	122	133	251	
Jovana .	16	159	178	143	80·4	110	128	258	
Ventso .	7	134	170	138	81·2	111	118	205	
FEMALES									
Babi . .	65	150	187	154	82·3	115	133	220	Strongly built. Stately. Handsome. Very fat.
Sago . .	48	153	180	142	80·9	107	136	210	
Sofi . .	12	145	172	142	82·5	112	123	222	
Lolúđja .	3	86	160	127	...	...	102	132	
Margúna	21	151	178	147	83·1	112	122	222	Teeth large and prominent. Handsome and well set up.
They all have black hair and brown eyes.									

ROMANO ŠIP

1. *Todem maw*, I have washed myself.
2. *Šal be maj mišto*, it goes much better.
3. *Tu skrindan maj jek worba*, you have written one word more.
4. *Le gagi tuke*, take this.
5. *Bale san tu sural*, you are well again.
6. *Amenge dikas*, we must see.
7. *Pušt lestar, bišarel M.*, ask him if he forgets M.
8. *O filjasteri buterdi*, the window is open.
9. *Hrúglas e še and o bai, nailas*, the girl jumped into the water, she bathed.
10. *O manuš astardel beske bakres*, the man catches his own sheep.
11. *Aratši tuwardas o bow*, yesterday the stove smoked.

12. *Tji buneske neja dukal*, your toe hurts.
13. *Aganaš šas-da*, let us now go.
14. *Amé gamaw de šas jek drom*, we shall now make one party.
15. *Woi beske deš berš*, she is ten years old.
16. *Wow dradel po bai*, he rows.
17. *Šudin ma*, help me!
18. *Ši xraw maj but*, I shall eat no more.
19. *Lesge jek anro and o businari*, he has an egg in his pocket.
20. *Me dem le lage*, I have given it to her.
21. *Hulaw tji xrabé le E.*, share your food with E.
22. *Ši gerebindas*, he has not hurried.
23. *Me si de penaw but de gesa bistrav*, I must say it often, so that I may not forget it.
24. *Mišto i kade*, is it good?
25. *Mišto šial amenge*, it goes well with us.
26. *Tu tsigaves maunge*, you teach me.
27. *Maj lungu, maj but*, further.
28. *An i genwar*, bring the book.
29. *Datšuwai bai šar (jag)*, we are warmed at the ashes (fire).
30. *Won gerden and o wurdon*, they pack (everything) on the wagon.
31. *Be sastimas*, your good health!
32. *Strangui lavutagi*, violin strings.
33. *Maladem ma gai xrutjos tele and o wurdon*, I gave myself a blow when I was jumping down from the wagon.
34. *Woi xral sor o djes*, she eats all day.
35. *Astar le grasten de tradas*, harness the horses that we may depart.
36. *Me makaw hai tu astailes bogtan*, I paste and you stick on the paper (? cloth).
37. *Širilo mašjo hai xras latje*, boiled fish and we eat (them) good (they are good to eat).
38. *Dukal ma muro oši*, my stomach pains me.
39. *Amé mišto dšilabas andiktan*, we play well together.
40. *Me tsuwalem lole gešesa*, I sewed with red thread.
41. *Won diken amen*, they are looking at us.
42. *Mas širilo and i piri*, cooked meat in the kettle.
43. *Anglé le grasten*, forward the horses.

44. *Te ramu oté de pušaw*, please write there, that I may inquire.
[It is more polite to use *te* with the present 2 sing. than the bare imperative.]
45. *Anglé hai balbale*, there and back.
46. *Dendarem be*, I have bitten myself.
47. *Inge nitši*, not yet.
48. *Dšilabaden and o girtšima*, you played in the inn.
49. *Hodimidem maw*, I have rested.
50. *To pe mesali ušté*, put the butter on the table.
51. *Gai de taw les*, where shall I put it?
52. *Tu sanas and o Breiska*, you were in Germany.
53. *Ek dat and o gurk*, once a week.
54. *I mutsa ašugarela le hirtsos de asterel las*, the cat waits for the mouse to catch it.
55. *Muri busni nai pangle*, my goat is not tied up.
56. *Dik guko waro*, see this wall.
57. *Tu χasanden tiro taso*, you lost your pocket.
58. *Naslen hai spiden les*, run (pl.) and push him.
59. *Del les batš*, he gives him permission.
60. *Gašugo sal*, are you deaf?
61. *K. gerel neue gada and o šon Maj*, K. makes new shirts in the month of May.
62. *Dine maw*, they gave me.
63. *Anglar tute*, before you.
64. *Gai si*, where is it?
65. *Me nastig maj de avav godo djes*, I cannot come any more to-day.

VOCABULARY

Compiled by the Rev. F. G. ACKERLEY

Except in Proper Names I have retained the letter *w* wherever I found it written in the manuscript, though in the majority of cases it is probably to be pronounced like *v*, using both lips.

Parallels in the vocabulary preceded by a capital C. will be found in the vocabulary to my 'Dialect of the Nomad Gypsy Coppermiths,' *J. G. L. S.*, vii. 161-214. Other references are made as usual. Mistakes in grammar and meaning I have corrected, usually without adding any comment. A very few expressions defy analysis.

With regard to the dialect, it is worth noticing that Herr Miskow tells us that many of these sentences were taught him by Anna, who belonged to a different tribe, and Sofi, and that apparently Babi is by origin a Gypsy of Germany. These statements are fully borne out by the mixed character of the dialect. Nevertheless I do not hesitate to class it as belonging to the Rumanian group.

A point of interest is the occurrence of present stems re-formed from participles, a characteristic already noticed in the dialect of the Coppersmiths.

- aganaš*, now. C. *akanaš*.
amburi, perhaps. C. *ambori*.
ame, we. C. *ame*.
amen (accusative).
amenge (dative).
[*an-*, to bring]. C. *an-*.
an (imperative).
and, in, into. C. *and*.
and, from. C. *anda*.
andiktan, together. Mik. viii. 80, s.v. *than*.
anglé, forward. C. *anglé*.
anglar, from before.
anro, egg. C. *anro*.
aratši, yesterday. C. *aratši*.
[*astar-*, to catch, seize]. C. *astar-*.
astar (imperative).
asterel (present, 3 sing.).
astardel (new present formed from the participle, as occurs frequently in Coppersmith Romani).
astailes, you stick on [?]. Perhaps 'it stuck on.'
[*ašugar-*, to wait]. C. *ažukar-*.
ašugarela (present, 3 sing.).
asva, tears. C. *asva*.
[*av-*, to come, become]. C. *av-*.
avav (present, 1 sing.).
aves (present, 2 sing.).
baho, ice. C. *paho*.
bahtalo, fortunate. C. *bahtalo*.
bai, water. C. *pai*.
bai. See *pe*.
[*bakro*, sheep]. Mik. vii. 15.
bakres (accusative).
bal, hair. C. *bal*.
balaj, barrel. C. *balaj*, trough.
balbale, back again. C. *palpale*.
bale, again. C. *pale*.
baro, big. C. *baro*.
bari (fem.). See *sibari*.
[*baš-*, to bark, play music]. C. *baš-*.
bašav (present, 1 sing.).
bašal (present, 3 sing.).
batš, permission. C. *patša*.
be. See *pe*.
be (reflexive). C. (*po*).
beske (genitive).
beg-, to cook]. Mik. viii. 36, *pek*.
begel (present, 3 sing.).
berš, year. C. *berš*.
[*beš-*, to sit]. C. *beš-*.
bešas (present, 1 pl.).
bi. See *pe*.
[*bister-*, to forget]. C. *bister-*.
bistrav (present, 1 sing.).
bisarel (present, 3 sing.).
bisterdem (past, 1 sing.).
bogtan, cloth (translated 'paper'). C.
poxtan, cloth.
[*boxalo*, hungry]. C. *bokhalo*.
boxale (feminine).
bow, stove. C. *bov*.
Breiska, Germany.
brišin, rain. C. *bšršin*.
[*buno*, foot]. C. *punro*.
buneske (genitive).
businari, pocket. Rum. *buzunar*.
busni, goat. C. *buzni*.
but, much. C. *but*.
[*buter-*, to open]. C. *puter-*.
buterdi (participle).
da (emphatic participle). C. *ta*. See sentence 13.
[*da-*, to give]. C. *da-*.
del, *dal*, *dela* (present, 3 sing.).
dem (past, 1 sing.).
des (past, 3 sing.).
dine (participle used for past, 3 pl.).
dinel (present, 3 sing., formed from participle).
dat, time. Mik. v. 17, *dátš*.
ek dat, once.
[*datšuv-*, to be warmed]. Mik. viii. 78, s.v. *talo*.
datšuvvas (present, 1 pl.).
de, mother. C. *de*.
de, *te*, that. C. *te*.
[*dendar-*, to bite]. Mik. vii. 41, s.v. *dand*.
dendarem (past, 1 sing.).
deš, ten. C. *deš*.
[*dik-*, to see]. C. *dikh-*.
dik (imperative).
dikas (present, 1 pl.).
diken (present, 2 pl.).
diken (present, 3 pl.).
djes, day. C. *djes*.
[*drad-*, to send, drive, depart]. C.
trad-.
dradaw (present, 1 sing.).
dradel (present, 3 sing.).
tradas (present, 1 pl.). See sentence 35.

- draxrami*, jacket. C. *roxami*.
drom, road. C. *drom*.
jak drom, together, the same way.
 [d*kilab*-, to play]. C. *d*kilab**-.
*d*kilabas** (present, 1 pl.).
*d*kilabaden** (past, 2 sing.).
 [d*uk*-, to hurt]. C. *d*ukh**-.
*d*ukal** (present, 3 sing.).
 e. See o.
filjasteri, window. C. *filastra*.
 [g*ad*, shirt]. C. *gad*.
gada (plural).
gade, ready. C. *gata*.
gagi. See *guko*.
gai, where; when. C. *kaj*.
gajo [?]. *Nai gajo*, it does not matter.
 Cf. Rum. *grav*, important.
galtsi, trousers. C. *kaltse*.
 [gam-, to wish, want]. C. *kam*-.
gamaw (present, 1 sing.).
games (present, 2 sing.).
gamaw (translated in sentence 14
 'we shall,' but possibly a mis-
 take for *gana*, cf. C. *kana*,
 now).
gašugo, deaf. C. *kasuto*.
genwar, book. C. *genwar*.
 [ger-, to make, do]. C. *ker*-.
geres (present, 2 sing.).
gerel (present, 3 sing.).
gerden (present, 3 pl., formed from
 participle).
 [gerebin-, hurry]. Rum. *grăbi*.
xi gerebindas, there is no hurry.
 Probably 'he has not hurried.'
gesa, not [?]. *De gesa bistrav*, that I
 do not forget.
 [gestin-, to begin]. Perhaps cf. Hun-
 garian *kész*, ready.
gestinen (present, 3 pl.).
gestindan (past, 2 sing.).
 [geš, thread]. Mik. vii. 77, *keš*, silk.
gešesa (instrumental).
girtšima, inn. C. *kušma*.
godo, this. C. *kodo*, that.
gogošu, cock. Rumanian, *cocoș*.
gorilo, sugar. Cf. perhaps C. *gudlo*,
 sweet.
 [grast, horse]. C. *grast*.
grasten (acc. pl.).
gruwni, cow. Mik. vii. 59, s.v. *gurun*.
guko, this. C. *koko*.
gagi (feminine).
gulako, cake. C. *kolatje*.
gurk, week. C. *kurko*.
 [xa-, to eat]. C. *xa*-.
xraw (present, 1 sing.).
xral (present, 3 sing.).
xras (present, 1 pl.).
xan (present, 2 pl.).
xrabé, food.
xadé, so (?). Cf. C. *kathé*, here.
hai, and. C. *haj*.
 [xasar-, to lose]. C. *xasar*-.
xasanden (past, 2 sing.).
hasari, sugar. C. *saro*.
hirtso, mouse. A loan-word obviously.
 Cf. perhaps Rum. *chișăi*, to squeak
 like a mouse.
 [hodini-, to rest]. Rum, *hodini*.
hodimidem (m for n. Past, 1
 sing.).
xonig, no one. C. *konik*, any one (only
 used with a negative).
xra-. See *xa*-.
 [hrut-, to jump]. C. *huk*-, *xut*-, *khod*-.
 Mik. vii. 65, *chut*.
xrutjos (imperfect, 1 sing. for
xrutjawas).
hriglas (past, 3 sing.).
 [hul-, to share]. Mik. vii. 65, *chulav*.
hulaw (imperative).
 i. See o.
inge, yet. Wlislöcki, *inke*; Pott, i.
 317.
 [is-, to be]. See also under *sibari*.
sim, I am.
sal, are you?
san, thou art.
si, is.
i, is.
sanas, you were.
jag, fire. C. *jag*.
jek, *ek*, one. C. *jek*, *ek*.
jigo, ice. Hung. *jég*. Mik. ii. 45,
jego.
kade, *gade*, that. C. *kado*, this.
kangli, comb. C. *kangli*.
la. See *woi*.
 [latjo, good]. C. *lašo*.
latje (plural).
lawutar, fiddle. Rum. *lăută*, fiddle;
lăutar, fiddler. Mik. ii. 48, *lavuta*.
lavutagi (genitive).
 [la-, to take]. C. *la*-.
le (imperative).
lela (present, 3 sing.).
le. See o.
les. See *wow*.
lindralo, sleepy. C. *lindralo*.

- [*lolo*, red]. C. *lolo*.
lole (oblique).
lungo, long. C. *lungo*.
maj, more. C. *maj*.
[*mak*-, to smear]. C. *makh*-.
makaw (present, 1 sing.).
[*malav*-, to cause to beat]. Cf. C.
mar-.
maladem (past, 1 sing.).
manro, bread. C. *manro*.
manuš, man. C. *manuš*.
mas, meat. C. *mas*.
mašjo, fish. C. *mašo*.
me, I. C. *me*.
maw (accusative).
ma (accusative).
mange (dative).
maunge (dative).
melalo, dirty. C. *melalo*.
meltjo, snail. Rum. *melc*.
[*mer*, to die]. C. *mer*-.
merla (present, 3 sing.).
mulem (past, 1 sing.).
mesali, table. C. *misali*.
mirisdü, wonderful. Cf. C. *mira*,
astonishment. This looks like
miris tu, 'do you wonder?'
from a loan-verb **miri*-, Rum.
mira, to wonder.
mišto, well. C. *mišto*.
muro, my. C. *miro*, *muro*.
muri (feminine).
mutsa, cat. C. *mutsa*. Rum. *mifš*.
nai, is not. C. *naj*.
[*naiav*-, to bathe]. C. *najuv*-.
nailas (past, 3 sing.).
[*nas*-, to run]. C. *naš*-.
naslen (imperative, 2 pl.).
nastig, cannot. C. *nasti*.
neja, finger. C. *naj*.
[*newo*, new]. C. *ново*.
neve (plural).
niški, not. C. *niški*.
numä, but. C. *numaj*, only.
o, the.
e (feminine).
i (feminine).
le (oblique).
le (plural).
oši, stomach. C. *oši*.
oté, there. Cf. C. *othe*.
[*pang*-, to fasten]. C. *phand*-.
panglé (participle).
papina, goose. Mik. viii. 31,
papin.
pe, be, on, at. C. *pe*.
po, on the (masculine).
bi, on the (feminine).
bai, at the (feminine).
[*pen*-, to say]. C. *phen*-.
penaw (present, 1 sing.).
piri, kettle. Mik. viii. 47.
[*puš*-, to ask]. C. *puš*-.
pušt (imperative). [*puš-ta*].
pušaw (present, 1 sing.).
puv, ground. C. *phuv*.
[*ramo*-, to write]. C. *ghramisar*-.
ramos (present, 2 sing.).
ramu (for *ramos*).
rawo, fox. Mik. viii. 60, *ruv*, wolf.
sar, as. C. *sar*.
sastimas, health. C. *sastimos*.
[*ser*-, to remember] (?). Cf. perhaps Rum.
cere, beg, wish, or *xäri*, perceive.
seres (present, 2 sing.).
sibari, eel. Perhaps *si bari*, it is big.
But cf. Rum. *şoptirlä*, lizard,
newt. Possibly *sapari*, a snake-
like thing.
skafo, barrel. C. *škafo*, cupboard.
[*skrin*-, to write]. Mik. v. 55, *skrii*.
Rum. *scrie*.
skrindan (past, 2 sing.).
so, what. C. *so*.
sor, all. C. *sor*.
[*spid*-, to push]. C. *spid*-.
spiden (imperative, 2 pl.).
stadi, hat. C. *stadji*.
[*strango*, a string]. German *Strang*.
*strangu*i (Rumanian plural in -uri
with *r* elided).
sural, strong. C. *zuralo*.
[*ša*-, to go]. C. *dša*-.
šal, *šial* (present, 3 sing.).
šas (present, 1 pl.).
šahar, never. Mik. ii. 57, *šoha*. Hun-
garian *soha*.
[*šan*-, to know]. C. *dšan*-.
šanel (present, 3 sing.).
šar, ashes. Mik. vii. 29, *čar*.
še, girl. C. *šej*.
ši. See *tši*.
širilo, cooked. C. *kiriav*-. Mik. vii.
83, *kirav*.
šon, month. C. *šon*.
[*šudin*-, to help]. Mik. v. 9, *ažuti*.
Rumanian.
šudin (imperative).
šugar, nice. C. *šukar*.
šugel, dog. C. *dšukel*.

šuno, boat. C. *šuno*.
taso, pocket. German *Tasche*.
te. See *de*.
tele, down. C. *tele*.
tiro, thy. C. *tiro*.
tiri (feminine).
tjatjes, truly. C. *tšatšes*.
[to-, to put]. C. *tho-*.
to (imperative).
taw (present, 1 sing.).
[to-, to wash]. C. *tho-*.
todem (past, 1 sing.).
trad-. See *drad-*.
[tsigav-, to teach]. C. *sik-*.
tsigaves (present, 2 sing.).
[tsuwav-, to sew]. C. *su-*.
tsuwalem (past, 1 sing.).
tši, ši, not. C. *tši*.
tu, thou. C. *tu*.
tuke (dative).
tute (prepositional).
du. See *mirisdu*.
tu, thy. C. *tjo*.
tji (feminine).

[tuwar-, to smoke]. Cf. Mik. viii. 83,
thuv.
tuwardas (past, 3 sing.).
uššé, butter (?). [Get up!]
wargana, mushroom. Hungarian *var-*
gánya.
wariso, something. C. *variso*.
waro, wall (?). Cf. C. *varo*, chalk.
Rum. *var*, lime.
woi, she. C. *voj*.
lage (dative).
won, they. C. *von*.
worba, word. C. *vorba*.
wow, he. C. *vo, wo*.
les (accusative).
le (accusative).
las (accusative).
lesge (dative).
lestar (ablative).
lase (instrumental for *lesa* by
metathesis, or owing to insta-
bility of both vowels through
**lesš*.)
wurdon, wagon. C. *vurdon*.

III.—THE DIALECT OF THE DRINDARIS

By BERNARD GILLIAT-SMITH

DURING the month of June 1913, the 'Affairs of Egypt' called me into the Bulgarian Dobrudža, the land to be taken over, a few months later, by the Rumanians. I was travelling in the company of one Ivan Kostadinoff, a comb-maker. He had, however, another name and another profession. He was known to his people and to me as Vlačano, and he was a horse-thief. We were somewhere about ten miles to the north-east of the town of Dobrič, and the gentle jolting of the native *taliga* across the high plateau, the hot sunshine and cool north wind, and the endless waving corn-fields had almost lulled us to sleep when Vlačano, lazily pointing with his whip in the direction of a distant village, said: 'You see yonder crowd? They too are of us, but different. We call them Drindaris. You will not understand a word of their speech. For *kai žas?* they say *kai mu-žinkjés?* and for *avél ki romní* they say *rivízila ki romní*.' The last example contained a howler, as I later discovered. But already we had caught up the horde, and

were driving through it as one drives through a flock of sheep. They were tattered and torn, the men wearing fezzes, bowler or straw hats, and carrying large brass horns slung over their shoulders, while the women were dressed in Christian fashion. Mules and donkeys obstructed our passage. We had a long way to go before sunset, and a new language could not have been mastered in an interview of five minutes, so we did not stop; and soon the strangers were again in the distance, a motley crowd of red and black, and burnished brass heliographing in the rays of the sun.

Some weeks later, coming after long waiting into possession of a copy of the Marquis Adriano Colocci's *Gli Zingari*, I was at once struck by the presence of some strange dialect in his second Appendix, the *Lessico Italiano-Tchinghiané*. Soon I discovered in this vocabulary the only two Drindari words known to me, taught me by Vlačano. I made inquiries as to whether there were not any members of the tribe to be found in Varna, and found that there were about ten men, musicians. I hired one of them, and was soon able to collect enough material for a fairly complete sketch of their remarkable dialect.

The Marquis Colocci's vocabulary consists of three elements: I. Drindari words; II. Pure Paspatian Romani; III. Turkish. A word is necessary concerning his orthography. He writes *dj* to represent various sounds: often it stands for *z* (as in *djoralù*), or for *ts* (as in *aldjädji=alkatsi*), or for *ž* (as in *djankiäva*), or for *dž* (as in *djam*), or for *č* (as in *midjno*). It is possible that the Drindaris, from whom he took down the words contained in his vocabulary, pronounced all these sounds alike; but their confusion may simply show an imperfect appreciation of the different sounds heard.

The notes referring to the Marquis Colocci's *Gli Zingari*, inserted throughout this article, are intended to show the reader the strong similarity of Drindari to the dialect which makes up the greater part of the *Lessico Italiano-Tchinghiané*. In numerous cases Colocci gives the ordinary Romani word, taken, he admits, from Paspati, along with the word taken down by himself: e.g. *prugna*, *kiläv*, *tehäv* (Drindari *tsiäv*); *gallina*, *kaghñl*, *kahi* (i.e. *kahí*); *gambero*, *karavidinl*, *kardji* (i.e. Drindari *karazí*).

For the dull sound *ɛ*, as also for the nasalization, Colocci frequently uses either a grave accent or two dots (``) above the

vowel in question, as *nanäi*, *nənèi* (i.e. *nənši*), *po kăinù*, *peggio*, *tchèi*, 'girl.' He has even used an *o* to render the *ɛ*, e.g. *molino ad acqua*, *poèsku asseti*. In the case of the nasalized *i* he often writes a double *i* with one of them accented, e.g. *tagariì*, 'queen'; *budjiì*, *stambecco femmina*. For the sake of clearness I have in some places corrected Colocci's inaccurate division of words, e.g. in the quotation 'disutilaccio, *nand avila liska vastin dâr*,' the last two words should obviously form one.

The Marquis Colocci has kindly sent me a few particulars as to the sources from which he compiled his interesting *Lessico*. The Gypsies whom he frequented for months, and from whom he got the words which in form bear so strong a resemblance to Drindari, were Nomads. Doubtless the dialect is scattered over a wide area in Southern Bulgaria as well as in the north-east, and is spoken by different tribes.

On another occasion I hope to describe most of the Gypsy tribes to be met with in North-east Bulgaria, and amongst others, the Drindaris. For the present I will confine myself to a sketch of their dialect, pausing only to mention that their chief centre is the town of Kotel, in the eastern Balkans, and more particularly the village of Žeravna, whence they wander far and wide in the summer months. They are by profession musicians, cleaners of wool, and mowers. They follow Islam. To other tribes they are variously known as Čalgîdžis (that is, musicians), Kîtkadžis (because they say *Ēla kîtkâ*¹ for 'Come here'), or Drindaris (from the sound made by the carder's mallet² when carding the wool, which sound can be well represented as being *drin*, *drin*, *drin*). Properly speaking they are not nomads, and when they travel from village to village they do so without tents.

A careful perusal of the scheme of phonetic laws which govern their language, and of the examples given, will convince the reader that the dialect has developed comparatively lately on independent lines, and is not the descendant of some ancient speech spoken by a separate tribe prior to the Gypsies' entry into Europe. Fascinating as such a theory is, it is untenable. All the evidence goes to prove that the language of the Drindaris has been developed from some dialect such as is described by Paspatis as appertaining more particularly

¹ Colocci: qui, *ketkâ*.

² The mallet is called *tulink* in Drindari; cf. Colocci: archetto (di strumento), *tulunk*.

to his sedentaries. I say *his* sedentaries advisedly, for the principle of *Mouillirung* which, according to Paspatis, is the chief characteristic of a sedentary dialect, is entirely absent in the speech of many sedentaries of north-east Bulgaria. The more or less remote ancestors of our Drindaris must have spoken a dialect which, while applying very strictly the principle of *Mouillirung*, differed from Paspatis's sedentary dialects in forming its genitive from a *ka* stem and not from the *kara* stem, and also in possessing a limited number of most remarkable roots, unknown to any other dialect.

There is another curious point which distinguishes the dialect of the Drindaris from other dialects, namely, the formation of the future tense by means of a prefixed *mo-* instead of the usual *ka-*, *kam-*. I think the following is probably the explanation of this peculiarity: when the Gypsies first entered Europe and their language began to adapt itself—as it has done ever since—to its new linguistic surroundings, which then were Greek, they found it necessary to express the future tense in much the same way as the Greeks did, who used the prefix *θα*, usually considered to be a shortening of *θέλω* *iva* 'I wish that.' In the same way the Gypsies began to say *kamáv te džav*, and afterwards *kamdžáv*, *kadžáv*. But the Drindaris must have said, *maŋgáv te džav*, and afterwards *mo-džav*. It is a noteworthy fact that this prefix still occurs in the forms *ma*, *mo*, *mu*, *mɛ*, *mł*. It must also be remembered that in none of these eastern dialects is there a distinction, in meaning, between *kamáma* (*kamáv*) and *maŋgáv*. The latter means 'beg' only in a secondary sense. The first meaning of both these verbs is neither 'beg' in the one case nor 'love' in the other, but 'want, desire, wish for.'

I want to insist particularly upon the fact that it is not the unknown roots, which are few in number, that make the dialect incomprehensible to other tribes, but rather the strange phonetic laws which have brought about an extraordinary disintegration of original Romani sounds. It will be seen that, apart from the tendency of *all* vowels to lose their original value, the disintegrating principle at work is that very *Mouillirung* above mentioned. That is to say, that where the *Mouillirung* is to be found, words have been distorted at times almost past recognition; whereas where it does not occur, the words remain but slightly altered. For instance, but few of the members of the G. L. S. would know the meaning of *deĩ*, where the tilde denotes

a nasalization of the *i*, whereas most would be able to translate *ov ksrǝl lačhipi*. Hence the most altered forms and sounds are to be met with in the conjugation of the passive verb which proceeds from a *-ja* stem, as is well known (see Mik., x. 82), and which must be considered, for our purposes, due to *Mouillirung*.

For this reason I have thought it unnecessary for the present to write a grammar of the language. It will be sufficient to set forth the principles of the phonetic laws which govern the dialect, together with copious examples illustrative of the said laws; after which, by way of further examples, some paradigms, and as complete a list as possible of the roots and words which add to the incomprehensibility of the dialect. Finally, I shall print a few texts as specimens.

PHONETICS

Before attempting to grasp the rules which govern Drindari phonetics, it would be well for the student to re-examine Miklosich's *Über die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europa's*, Teil ix. It will be seen that much of what occurs in the speech of the Drindaris is to be found likewise in various western dialects. Drindari may be described as a dialect in which the process of disintegration of original sounds has been applied with a thoroughness unknown to any one dialect of the West yet recorded.

Miklosich (ix. 43), under the heading 'Veränderungen von Consonantengruppen,' says: '*nt* erhält sich. In den anderen neuindischen Sprachen wird das schwindende *n* meist durch den anusvāra ersetzt bea. [Beames], i. 295,' e.g. *čang*: hind. *džāgha*; *panč*: hind. *pāč*. This principle of the anusvāra, while not applied in the same cases as in Drindari, cannot but remind us of the nasalization which occurs when the *Mouillirung* causes an *n* to vanish.

THE ALPHABET

Besides the letters set forth in the Preface to the 'Čordilendžis' (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 183-4), representing sounds which are by now familiar to students of Romani, I am obliged to use the sign ~ placed above a vowel and showing the nasalization of the said vowel. By nasalization I do not necessarily mean a sound similar to the French *in* (*ain*), *en*, *on*, *un*. The Drindari

nasalization leaves no trace of the *n* consonant, nor does the vowel which is nasalized lose, as in French, its original quality. An *i* remains an *i*, an *e* remains an *e*, but a large quantity of voiced breath flows through the nose as well as the mouth. Where a vowel also precedes the vanished *n* (see C 6), the said vowel also partakes of some nasalization, and in this case an *a* tends to degenerate to *ɛ* (cf. A 2 (g)).

The letter *â* represents a sound heard in the English word 'awe,' but the lips, in pronouncing, must be somewhat less rounded.

ɛ is the Polish or Russian so-called thick *l*.

r, which is well preserved in this dialect, at times becomes *ʃ*, i.e. an *l* made with the tongue placed in the same position as when pronouncing *r*. This occurs in some diminutives and in the word *kouʃú* 'blind,'¹ probably from *kororó* (Sofia: *koró*).

ə̃ represents an exceedingly reduced *Mouillirung*, often almost inaudible. It occurs as *é̃* and unaccented.

There is an unmistakably long *a*, represented by *ā*. Other vowels do not appear to be lengthened save in loan-words from the Turkish, such as *sāra* 'after.'

w is distinctly bilabial, and might be written *u*.

A. GENERAL RULES

The rules classed under A cannot be taken as hard and fast. They are not absolutely binding, but represent a tendency in a language which is in a marked state of transition.

1. (a) *v* followed by *a*, *o*, *u* is bilabial and may be represented by *w* or by *u*: *wakerá* 'I speak'; *wortsiséi-tar* 'she turned giddy'; *tsídwa* 'plums.'²

(b) *v* preceded or followed by *e*, *i*, is labio-dental like the English *v*: *jivísti* 'in the snow'; *evénd* 'winter'; *zivisé* 'by day'; *sivimnástar* 'from sewing.'

(c) *v* can vanish between two vowels. It always does so in the first person present tense of all verbs. In this case two *a*'s can remain together or one alone may remain: *ladžá* 'I am ashamed'; *phiráa* 'I walk'; *phirad* 'I cause to walk'; *phirad* 'I open'; *dikhím e thais* 'I saw the boy'; *e tháisa* 'with the boy.' But they say *thávi* 'children.' See section C, note.

(d) final *v* is voiceless and best written *f*: *of* 'he'; *jif* 'snow.'

¹ Colocci: cieco, *kouvi*.

² Colocci: prugna, *tsàv*.

2. Above and beyond the rules of vowel-mutation set forth in B, and the consonantal changes explained in C, there is a general tendency in the language for vowel-sounds to lose their original value. This is done *ad libitum*, and is by no means obligatory.

(a) *e* becomes *i*: *roíl* 'he cries';¹ *kerdí* 'they did'; *sahtsipt* 'health';² *dikhíl* 'he sees'; *romíja* 'O husband.'

(b) *i* becomes *e*:³ *dže-rátsi* 'at nightfall.'

(c) *e* becomes *ɛ*: *kér-la* 'he does.'

(d) *o* becomes *u*:⁴ *nasfalú* 'ill'; *garadú* 'hidden.'

(e) *i* becomes *ɪ*: *žíná* 'I know'; *žínkjá* 'I go.'

(f) *a* becomes *â*: *lâžhú* 'good.'

(g) *a* becomes *ɜ*: *čhɜi* 'girl.'⁵

Consonants are chiefly affected by definite rules as set forth in C. A final *l* is, however, at times inaudible: *mu-ai dže-rátsi* 'he will come at nightfall,' *ai* for *atl*, *atla*. A final *s* can be pronounced *h*: *garajáh lis* 'he hid it.' *r* can drop out or can become *l*. This occurs especially when two *r*'s succeed each other: *čoulú* 'poor,' from *čororó*; *čoulú* 'a little boy,' from *čhavoro*; *koulú* 'blind,' from *kororó*; *soulú* 'all,' from *savoró*.

Apart, too, from the definite rules just mentioned, *zd* has a tendency to become *d* and sometimes *z*: *vádel* 'he raises' (Colocci *vàdava*, *alzare*), from *vázdel*; *loedí* 'they waited,' from *loezdí* from *loizdé*; *parχodí les* 'they buried him,' from *parχozdé*; Colocci *parhùdjaa*, *seppellire*.

B. LAWS OF VOWEL MUTATION

The presence of *j* (as *Mouillirung*, or in the passive formation, i.e. the *ja* stems of Mik. ix.) is the great factor which creates most of the peculiar sound-alterations to be found in the dialect of the Drindaris.

1. *j* + *oa* = *ěa*, i.e. an almost inaudible *Mouillirung* of the *a*: *barěá* 'I grow big,' from *bárjovava*, the *v*'s having vanished, as explained above in A 1 (c).

This *Mouillirung* is more audible when preceded by the vowel

¹ Cf. Colocci: *ronzare* (delle api), *burii bashila*.

² Colocci: under *buongiorno*, *sasdjipi*.

³ Cf. Colocci: *barepi*, for *baripè*, aumento; and *endri* for *andré*, dentro.

⁴ Cf. Colocci: *tu sherù tchinàa*, under *decapitare*; and *nanà avila liska vastin-dár*, under *disutilaccio*; and *isè amin pralipi*, for *ist amén phralipé*, under *fratellanza giurata*.

⁵ Colocci: *figlia*, *tchèi*.

a, and is then better written *j*: *nasfája* 'I fall ill,' from *nasfáljovava*. For the disappearance of the *l* see below, C 5.

When preceded by an *e*, the *Mouillirung* is quite inaudible, and one writes *šiléa* 'I am cold, catch cold,' from *šiláljovava*. *šiléa* stands for *šilája* according to B 3 (see below). The *Mouillirung* is also inaudible when preceded by *š* or *ž*: *paša* 'I lie down,' from *pášljovava*; *χandža* 'I itch,' from *χándžovava*.

2. *j*+*oe*=*i*, rarely *e*: *barisa* 'thou growest big,' from *bárjovesa*. They sometimes say *barésa*; *nasfáisa* 'thou fallest ill,' from *nasfáljovesa*; *šiléisa* 'thou art cold,' from *šiláljovesa*.

3. The *i* formed according to B 2, and in general all other *i*'s and *j*'s can attract and convert a preceding *a* to *e* or *ɛ*, and even an *i* to *e*: *šiléisa* 'thou art cold'; *zoréisa* 'thou growest strong,' from *zoráisa* from *zoráljovesa*, cf. Colocci: *binghéilu*, from *bengáילו*, under epilessia, lit. he became possessed; *mothéila* 'he tells,' from *motháila* from *mothavéla*, cf. Colocci: *tcharella*, far pascere, from *čaravéla*; *pusseila*, i.e. it pricks, under pungolo da buoi; *asseibì*, riso, for *asaibé*; *hohebi*, inganno, for *χoχeibí*, from *χoχaibé*; *uréila-pes* 'he dresses,' from *urjáila* from *urjavéla*, cf. Colocci: *tchōuru*, under impoverire, and *sōuru* perfetto, probably for *ssuřú*. *zareí must* 'a hairy arm,' from *zarjalí must*; *čéndila* 'he calls,' from *čándela*; *loézila* 'he waits,' from *lotzila*; *andé baréti* 'in the garden,' from *andé barjáte*; *phujéti* 'on the ground,' cf. Colocci: *pueti*, per terra, and *mogodjeti nanāř*, for *mu gozéti nənēi* (from *me godjáte nanái*) under essere indifferente, see also ricordare, *ta godjeti anāa*. The *j* can also convert a following *a* to *e*, but this is of frequent occurrence in other dialects: *benzés* 'she gave birth,' from *benzjás*, *bendjás*; *džís*, from *dadjés*, cf. Colocci *nikadgiski na misegilā* (*nikačtski na misézila*) from *mistzela*, lit. he doesn't think of anything, under spensierato. Cf. German Romani *pes*, for *pejás*, 'he fell,' and see Finck on the subject. (Lehrbuch, p. 15, Anm. 3.)

4. *j*+*o*=*i*: *kerím* 'I did'; *behčím* 'I sat'; *dikhím* 'I saw'; *alakhím* 'I found'; *garaím* 'I concealed,' from *kerdjóm*, *beštjóm*, *dikhljóm*, *alakhljóm*, *garadjóm*, respectively. For the consonantal modifications apparent in these examples, see section C. As examples from Colocci, cf. *peím*, caduta; *kesno atchim*, procrastinare, lit. I have remained late (Bulgarian *kəsnə*=late); *mřus oim*, diventare uomo, from *murš uljóm*.

C. CONSONANTAL CHANGES

Here again it is the presence of *j* and *i* which brings about all the changes.

1. *dj=j*. When *i* follows this *j* the latter is naturally inaudible, and almost so in all cases except between two *a*'s: *kerím* 'I did,' from *kerdjóm*; *keréás* or *kerás* 'he did,' from *kerdjás* (compare *baréa* in B 1); *garajás* 'he concealed,' also *garajáh* (compare *nasfája* in B 1). Further *pherás* 'he filled'; *uxčájás* 'he trampled'; *uxtajás* 'he plucked, cut out'; *χarajás* 'he scratched'; *phiretm* 'I opened,' from *phiradjóm* > *phiradjím* (B 4) > *phiraím* (C 1) > *phiretm* (B 3); *dsíski* 'for the father,' from *dadjéske*; *dsís* (Accus.) 'the father,' from *dadjés*; *mo dsísku kher* 'my father's house,' from *dadjésko kher*. Cf. Colocci: *possayàs* 'he pricked,' translated *puntura*.

2. *dj=z*. This is a good instance of the transitory state of the dialect at present. One hears *pherí* 'full' (feminine), and also *pherzi*, from *pherdt*. As a general rule one may say that rule C 1 (i.e. *dj=j*) applies to the active voice, past tense, and that C 2 (i.e. *dj=z*) applies to the passive voice, present and past tenses: *kerás* 'he did,' but *kérzila* 'it is done,' from *kérdjovela*, according to A 1 (c), B 2, and C 2. So also *arátm* 'I destroyed,' but *arázila* 'it is destroyed'; *žangázēa* 'I am waked'; *našázilu* 'he is lost'; *trašázilu* 'he feared'; *astárzisa* 'thou art seized'; *tasázina* 'they are drowned'; but *žangatm*, *našatm*, *trašatm*, *astarím*, *tasatm*, 'I waked,' 'lost,' 'frightened,' 'seized,' 'throttled'; *garazí* (fem.) 'hidden' from *garadjí*; *čhxi šukár ureizi* 'a well dressed girl.' *šunzím* 'I heard,' from *šundjóm*; *benzím-tar* 'I was born,' from *béndjiliom*; *gozít* 'intelligence,' from *godjt*; *zes* 'day,' from *djiés*; and also since *gj* tends to become *dj* according to the common Romani change, *ozít* 'heart,' etc., from *ogjt*; *zi* (for unusual nasalization see below, C 6, note) 'a song,' from *gjili*; *zába* 'I sing,' from *gjiljiábava*; *zif* 'corn,' from *gjiv*; *avzín* 'honey,' from *avgjín*; *nanzi* 'naked'; *banzi* 'crooked.'

Of these two changes *dj=j* and *dj=z*, verbs in *-dava* prefer the latter; *roziím* 'I sought,' *rozibí* 'searching,' *čhazím* 'I was sick'; *čhazipt* 'vomiting.'

It may be noted that the Drindari dialect often conjugates from a participle in *-do*, the so-called *ta* suffix, where in most other well-preserved dialects the participles in *-no* (the *na* suffix) are preferred; *lošázas* 'we rejoice,' points to a participle *lošadó*. But

Paspati has *lošanjovava*, Sofia: *lošanav*. *asaím-tar* 'I laughed,' points to a participle *asadó*. But other dialects say *asánijom*. So too *asajás* 'he laughed.' However, they also use *asanú-tar* 'he laughed.' *žanğázēā* 'I wake up'¹ and *trašázēā* 'I am frightened,' point to a former *džanğádjovava* and *trašádjovava*, whereas most dialects have *džanğáljovava*, *trašanjovava*. If these Drindari verbs just quoted proceeded from a participle in *-no*, we should not find the *z* in the present stem, which would, moreover, be nasalized, as *trašájā* 'I am frightened.' The past tense would likewise be *trašaím* instead of *trašaím*.

3. (a) *tj=ts*: *matsisa* 'thou gettest drunk,' from *mátjovesa*; *matsēā* 'I get drunk,' from *mátjovava*; *matsí* (fem.) 'drunk'; *tatsilú* 'he became hot,' from *tátjilo*; *tatselí* 'they became hot,' from *tátjilé*; *te sahtsís tu* 'may you prosper,' from *te sástjoves tu*, and, since *kj* commonly changes in Romani to *tj*, *šutsíl* 'it becomes dry,' from *šúkjovel*.² But they say *šutílú-tar* 'it became sour, turned to vinegar,' not *šutsilú*, probably in order not to confuse the word with the preceding; *petsíl* 'it is baked, shines,' from *pékjovel*; *mātsi* 'a fly,' from *maklí* (see below C 5).

This rule does not appear to have yet affected the declension of feminine nouns and adjectives to any great extent: *zejéki kóža* 'the leather of the saddle.' But there are cases where the rule applies: *solátsi musí* 'the left arm,' from *solákji musí*.

Loan words of Turkish origin ending originally in *k* come under this rule, for Drindari, like most other dialects, has added an *i*: *sokátsi* 'street,' from *sokákj*, from Turkish *sokak*. Other loan-words in *k* are treated in the same way. Hence *elektrítsi* 'electricity,' from *elektríkji*.

(b) *štj=šč*: *beščím* 'I sat down,' from *beštjóm*; *beščí* 'she sat down,' from *beštjí*; *naščí* 'she ran away,' from *naštjí*.

When an *s* precedes the *ts*, as in *sastsí* (fem.) 'healthy' (according to C 3 (a)), or an *š* precedes the *č*, as in *naščí* 'she ran away' (according to the rule we are now considering), this *s* or *š* can be, but need not be, converted into an *h*, when it is itself preceded by an *a* or by an *e*: *sahtsílí* or *sastsílí* 'they got well'; *nahčí* or *naščí* 'she ran away'; *beščám* or *behčám* 'we sat down.' When, however, it is itself preceded by an *i* it entirely disappears: *uxítsí* 'she descended,' not *uxistsí* or *uxihtsí*, masculine *uxistú*; *nakítsí* 'she

¹ Colocci: *svegliarsi*, *džangadjāa*. He quotes, as a matter of fact, the participial form in *-do*: *svegliato*, *džangadiū*. He also gives the regular Romani form, *džangániovava*.

² Colocci: *sudjerāva*, *asciugare*.

passed, crossed,' masc. *nakistú*;¹ *inkitsí* 'she mounted on horse-back,' masc. *inkistú*.

NOTE.—Nouns, adjectives, and participles ending in *o* form their plurals, as is well known, by changing this *o* into *e*. The said *o*, in Drindari generally pronounced *u* (see A 2 (d)), is mostly converted into *i* in forming the plural in this dialect (see A 2 (a)). This *i* is not considered to be a real *i*, is, in fact, not pronounced exactly like the real *i*, being, as already seen, more in the nature of a tendency of *e* to become *i* than a hard and fast vowel. No doubt for this reason it does not modify the consonants in the way just explained in rules 1, 2, and 3 of this section. The same will be found to be the case in C 5 and C 6 below, where *l* and *n* disappear under the influence of a real *i*, but not under that of the *i* which is the sign of the plural. One might compare also *čhaísku kšer* 'the boy's house,' but *čhâv* 'children.' I have hesitated in stating that the *Mouillirung* causes *v* to vanish, as *v* disappears also in other cases (see A 1 (c)). But the example just given would seem to corroborate the idea, especially as we find that the *v* is retained when followed by an *i* which does not admit of the *Mouillirung*. *Čhaísku* stands for *čhavjésko*, but *čhâv* stands for *čhavé*, not *čhavjé*.

matsí, fem. 'drunk'; plur. *matí*.

beščí, fem. 'seated'; plur. *beští*.

naščí, *nahčí*, fem. 'she ran away'; plur. *naští*.

sahtsí, fem. 'healthy'; plur. *sastí*.

uxitsí, fem. 'she descended'; plur. *uxistí*.

garazí, fem. 'hidden'; plur. *garadí* 'they concealed.'

astarzí, fem. 'seized'; plur. *astardí* 'they seized.'

nanzí, fem. 'naked'; plur. *nančí*.

pharazí, fem. 'torn, violated'; plur. *pharadí* 'they tore.'

pherzí or *phertí*, fem. 'full'; plur. *pherdí*.

lamajás 'he, she began'; plur. *lamadí*.

garajás 'he hid'; plur. *garadí*.²

4. *šti* (where the *i* or *j* is a part of the original root, and neither a *Mouillirung* nor due to the passive *ja* stem formation) = *š* or *ši*, that is to say, it becomes *š* when the root *i* is not accented, but *ši* when the root *i* receives the accent. In other words *š*, which, as we have already seen (B 1), absorbs the *Mouillirung*, can even absorb an unaccented root *i*.

¹ Cf. Colocci: *bi-nakestù* non infilato, the *nakló* of other dialects.

² Cf. Colocci: *na inkisti sarànta*, under *quarantenario*.

Hence Drindari *našči* from *naštji* 'she ran away'; but Drindari *nači* from *našti* 'cannot': Drindari *bešči* from *beštji* 'she sat down'; but Drindari *uči* from *ušti* 'arise' (Imperative): *uša* 'I arise,' from *uštiáva, ustjáva*; *ušila* 'he arises,' from *uštjéla*: *ušim* at times pronounced *ušim*, 'I arose,' from *uštijnóm* (see C 6, note); *ušinó* 'he arose,' from *uštínó*.

5. *lj=j, i*: *ai* 'she came,' from *alt*; *alápii* 'she was found,' from *alápili*; *pet* 'she fell,' cf. Colocci *peim* 'I fell,' under *caduta*; *pii* 'she drank'; *ašhi* 'she remained'; *bari* 'she grew big'; *paši* 'she lay down'; *matsi* 'she became drunk'; *aχai* 'she understood'; *trašázii* 'she was frightened'; *garázii* 'she was concealed'; *arázii* 'she was destroyed'; *našázii* 'she disappeared'; *díšii* 'she appeared'; *tasázii* 'she was drowned'; *petsi* 'she was baked, shone.'

The Note to C 3 naturally applies here. Hence the plural of the above words is *ali* 'they came'; *alápili* 'they were found'; *peli* 'they fell'; *pili* 'they drank,' etc., etc.

nasfája, šiléa, šiléis, pašá, mātši (=a fly), from *nasfáljovava, šiláljovava, šiláljovesa, pášljovava, makli* have already been quoted to illustrate other rules. Cf. also *lóila*, from *lóljovela* 'he becomes red.' Cf. Colocci: *loyáva*, under *arrossire*; *tabila*, under *febbre*, for *thabljovela*.

barvat (fem.) 'rich'; *kat* (fem.) 'black'; *melši* (fem.) 'dirty'; the masculines being *barvalú, kalú, melalú*. Cf. Colocci: *kuiba*, for *koliba*, *capanna*, and *im*, *moccio*, for *lim*.

The letter *l* is not thus affected, hence *kouli* (fem.) 'blind'; *šouli* (fem.) 'poor.'

raki 'girl,' from *rakli*; masc. *raklú*.

baiču 'pig,' from *baličó*; *baičanu* (adj.) from *baličano*. Cf. Colocci: *baidjù*, *porco*.

kangt 'comb,' from *kangli*. Cf. Colocci: *kangui*, *pettine*.

bokt 'cake,' from *bokolí*.

A word not yet affected by this rule appears to be *Devlísa*, in *dža Devlísa*. Cf. Colocci: *i devlistar*, under (non timorato di) Dio. *khangili* 'church,' is from *kangert*, and has nothing to do with the rule we are considering. They say *ruí* 'a stick,' from *rovlí*. *ambról* is treated as a masculine noun: as a feminine it is also used and pronounced *ambrói*.

6. The *Mouillirung* likewise causes *n* to vanish, leaving a nasal sound which, so to speak, floats across the following vowel and renders a final *l* or *n* almost inaudible. (See definition above.)

Here, too, the *i* of the plural has no power to cause the *n* to vanish:—

ternú 'young'; fem. *terí*; plur. *terní*.

deinú (from *delinú*) 'foolish'; fem. *deí*; plur. *deiní*. Cf. Colocci: *deinù*, matto.

tsirnú (from *kirnú*) 'rotten'; fem. *tsirí*; plur. *tsirní*.

puranú 'old'; fem. *pureí* (see B 3); plur. *puraní*. Cf. Colocci: *purèi tchài*, zitellona.

šutaló 'a Turk'; fem. *šutalí*, from *šutalní*.

šutalanú 'Turkish'; fem. *šutalst*. Cf. Colocci: *grastei matchè*, and *mrussii rumi* (from *mursani romní*), under *tafano* and *virago* respectively.

parnú 'white'; fem. *parí*. Cf. Colocci: *djarisku paripì*, chiara d'ovo.

das 'Bulgar'; fem. *dast*.

dasikanú 'Bulgarian'; fem. *dasikst*.

sanú 'slender'; fem. *saí*. Cf. Colocci: *saì balval*, venticello.

kahí 'chicken,' cf. Colocci: *kahi*, gallina; *grast* 'mare,' cf. Colocci: *grassi*, cavalla; *gurut* 'cow,' cf. Colocci: *gurií*, vacca; *korezt* 'a hit,' from *korednít*; *buzí* 'goat,' cf. Colocci: *budjiù*, stambecco femmina; *napoleót* 'a napoleon'; *pureibí* 'old age,' from *puranipé*; *šerxájā* 'stars'; *phejāki* 'for the sister'; *mejātar* 'from the neck'; *zejāsa* 'with a saddle'; *betpí* 'birth';¹ *geipí* 'counting' (but for reading they use *genzipí*).²

déā 'I go mad,' also *deā*, from *deniljovava*. The *Übergangsstufen* are *deniljovava* > *deniljda* (A 1 (c)) and (B 1) > *denijā* (C 5) > *deā*. *deí* 'he goes mad'; *deit-tar* 'she went mad'; *dets* 'thou goest mad'; *purēā* 'I grow old'; *parēila* 'it becomes white' (e.g. the face, with much powder); *rut* 'she cried'; *tsijā* 'I become tired,' from *khinjavava*; *tsiis* 'thou becomest tired'; *tsiit-tar* 'she became tired'; *pājēilu* 'he became wet,' from *panjálilo*; ³ *pājēii* 'she became wet.'

NOTE.—There are cases in which the nasalization is apparently not historically justified: *zī*, from *gili*, 'a song.' One would have expected *zii* or *zi*. The forms *phejās* 'he said,' where one might have expected *phenzās*, as also *pherí* together with *pherzí* 'full,' and *geipí* together with *genzipí*, show clearly that the

¹ Colocci: *beipì*, parto.

² Colocci: *gueipì*, lettura.

³ Colocci: *nane-puèilo*, non battezzato. (Cf. the introductory remarks on Colocci's spelling and rendering of *š*.)

language is still developing and in a state of transition. The Drindari word for a bee is *bart*. Here the nasalization is probably historically correct. *Bart* implies a former *barnt*. Cf. Hindi *birni*, Sanskrit *bhringa*, and Pali *bhingo*, all quoted by Pott, p. 419, Wörterbuch.

In other cases no nasalization is heard: *ruim* 'I cried,' but see above, *ruť* 'she cried'; but *ruim* may imply a *-ta* suffix like *asaim* (v. above, end of C 2); *tsim* 'I am tired'; *dim* 'I gave'; *děās* 'he gave,' also *das*; *paraduńtsa* 'with money,' is the replica of the Sofia *paradonětsa*; *kúi* 'elbow'; *i ěobaisa* 'with the shepherd,' from *e ěobaněsa*; *rumť* from *romnť*.

Finally, a root *n* often does not vanish: *biktńna* 'he sells'; *zńńna* 'he knows'; *genťla* 'he counts.' However, it is true that in these cases the *i*'s are not true *i*'s, admitting *Mouillirung*.

NOTE.—The *Mouillirung*, besides causing *n* and *l* to vanish appears to affect the value of a preceding *a*: *melalű* 'dirty,' fem. *melzi*; *dasikanű* 'Bulgarian,' fem. *dasikzi*.

Cf. A 2 (g) and preliminary notes on the alphabet, and cf. Colocci: *nassoepł*, *malattia*, which is probably not the Drindari *nasuipł* 'evil,' but Drindari *nassipł* (for *nasvalipł*).

PARADIGMS

ACTIVE VOICE

Present Tense

	see	do	know	rise	come	sing
S. 1.	<i>dikhá</i>	<i>kěrá</i>	<i>žńńá</i>	<i>ušáa</i> ¹	<i>aáa</i>	<i>zába</i>
2.	<i>dikhńsa</i>	<i>kěrsa</i>	<i>žńńsa</i>	<i>ušńsa</i>	<i>ańsa</i>	<i>zábasa</i>
3.	<i>dikhńla</i>	<i>kěrla</i>	<i>žńńna</i>	<i>ušńla</i>	<i>ańla</i>	<i>zábala</i>
Pl. 1.	<i>dikhńsa</i>	<i>kěńsa</i>	<i>žńńńsa</i>	<i>ušńsa</i>	<i>ańsa</i>	<i>zábasa</i>
2.	<i>dikhńna</i>	<i>kěńna</i>	<i>žńńńna</i>	<i>ušńna</i>	<i>ańna</i>	<i>zábana</i>
3.	<i>dikhńna</i>	<i>kěńna</i>	<i>žńńńna</i>	<i>ušńna</i>	<i>ańna</i>	<i>zábana</i>

The forms given are not the only ones, but are meant to be typical of the dialect. The contractions found in 'to do' and 'to know' are not mentioned in the phonetic rules. They are not typically Drindari, and are found in other dialects. Like *aáa* are conjugated: *thoá* 'I wash'; *thoá* 'I put'; *rođa* 'I cry,' amongst others.

¹ Cf. Colocci: *uśháa djáa*, partire.

Since *ʃ* absorbs the *Mouillirung*, passive verbs (see below) like *pašá* 'I lie down,' and *dišá* 'I appear,' come to be conjugated exactly in the same way as *ušáa*. In *khelá* 'I play,' the *l* may disappear *ad libitum* where it is followed by an *i*, even although this *i* be not an original *i* admitting *Mouillirung*. Cf. Colocci's writing *kéela* for *kheléla*, under *esercizio*.

	wait	take	give	begin
S. 1.	<i>lotza</i> ¹	<i>leá</i>	<i>deá</i>	<i>lamaá</i> ²
2.	<i>loézisa</i>	<i>lísa</i>	<i>désa</i>	<i>lamaísa</i>
3.	<i>loézila</i>	<i>líla</i>	<i>déla</i>	<i>lamaíla</i>
Pl. 1.	<i>lotzasa</i>	<i>leása</i>	<i>deása</i>	<i>lamaása</i>
2.	<i>loézina</i>	<i>lína</i>	<i>déna</i>	<i>lamaína</i>
3.	<i>loézina</i>	<i>lína</i>	<i>déna</i>	<i>lamaína</i>

Like *lotza* are conjugated all loan verbs from *iz-* stems. Like *lamaá* are conjugated all verbs of a similar causative formation, as *omblaá* 'I hang,' *našáa* 'I lose.'

Past Tense

	saw	did	rose	came	began	opened
S. 1.	<i>dikhím</i>	<i>kerím</i>	<i>uším</i>	<i>atm</i>	<i>lamaím</i>	<i>phiréim</i>
2.	<i>dikhján</i>	<i>keréân</i>	<i>ušíân</i>	<i>ajân</i>	<i>lamajân</i>	<i>phirajân</i>
3.	<i>dikhjás</i>	<i>keréás</i>	<i>ušínú</i> , f. <i>ušíí</i>	<i>alú</i> , f. <i>alí</i>	<i>lamajás</i>	<i>phirajás</i>
Pl. 1.	<i>dikhjám</i>	<i>keréâm</i>	<i>ušíám</i>	<i>ajám</i>	<i>lamajám</i>	<i>phirajám</i>
2.	<i>dikhján</i>	<i>keréân</i>	<i>ušíân</i>	<i>ajân</i>	<i>lamajân</i>	<i>phirajân</i>
3.	<i>dikhlé</i> ³	<i>kerdí</i>	<i>ušíní</i>	<i>alí</i>	<i>lamadí</i>	<i>phiradí</i>

	waited	heard	played	cried	led	threw
S. 1.	<i>loizím</i>	<i>šunzím</i>	<i>kheím</i>	<i>roím</i>	<i>gaím</i>	<i>éhim</i>
2.	<i>loizán</i>	<i>šunzéân</i>	<i>kheján</i>	<i>rojân</i>	<i>gajân</i>	<i>éhan</i>
3.	<i>loizás</i>	<i>šunzéás</i>	<i>khejás</i>	<i>runó</i> , f. <i>ruí</i>	<i>gajás</i>	<i>éhas</i>
Pl. 1.	<i>loizám</i>	<i>šunzéâm</i>	<i>khejám</i>	<i>rujám</i>	<i>gajám</i>	<i>éham</i>
2.	<i>loizán</i>	<i>šunzéân</i>	<i>kheján</i>	<i>rujân</i>	<i>gajân</i>	<i>éhan</i>
3.	<i>loedí</i>	<i>šundí</i>	<i>kheldí</i>	<i>runí</i>	<i>gadí</i>	<i>éhidí</i>

¹ Cf. Colocci: *loidjáva*, far guardia.

² Cf. Colocci: *lamāa*, spingere, and *barissa lamaipi*, gittar pi tre.

³ Also *dikhli*.

	sought	arrived	sat	ran away	mounted or went out
S. 1.	<i>rozim</i>	<i>restim</i>	<i>behim</i>	<i>našim</i>	<i>inkitim</i>
2.	<i>rozeān</i>	<i>restān</i>	<i>behān</i>	<i>našān</i>	<i>inkitān</i>
3.	<i>rozeās</i>	<i>restās</i>	<i>beštú, f. bešči</i>	<i>naštú, f. našči</i>	<i>inkistú, f. inkisti</i>
Pl. 1.	<i>rozeām</i>	<i>restām</i>	<i>behām</i>	<i>nahām</i>	<i>inkitām</i>
2.	<i>rozeān</i>	<i>restān</i>	<i>behān</i>	<i>nahān</i>	<i>inkitān</i>
3.	<i>rodí or roziní</i>	<i>restí</i>	<i>bešti or bešli</i>	<i>našti</i>	<i>inkistí</i>

Like *rozim*, which may be pronounced *roziim*, are conjugated most compounds of *dav*, as *tsizim* 'I pulled,' *chungázim* 'I spat.' Like *aím* are conjugated *peim*¹ 'I fell,' *piim* 'I drank'; like *lamaím* are conjugated *garaím* 'I hid' (transitive), *našaim*, which is sometimes pronounced *našim* 'I lost,' *nakaím*, also pronounced *nakim* 'I led out, conducted, swallowed, made pass.'

PASSIVE VOICE

Present Tense

	grow big	get drunk	bathe	appear	lie down
S. 1.	<i>baréa</i> ²	<i>matséa</i>	<i>najá</i>	<i>dišá</i>	<i>pašá</i>
2.	<i>barisa</i>	<i>matsisa</i>	<i>naísa</i>	<i>dišisa</i>	<i>pašisa</i>
3.	<i>barila</i>	<i>matsila</i>	<i>naíla</i>	<i>dišila</i>	<i>pašila</i>
Pl. 1.	<i>baréasa</i>	<i>matsasa</i>	<i>najasa</i>	<i>dišasa</i>	<i>pašasa</i>
2.	<i>barína</i>	<i>matsína</i>	<i>naína</i>	<i>dišina</i>	<i>pašina</i>
3.	<i>barína</i>	<i>matsína</i>	<i>naína</i>	<i>dišina</i>	<i>pašina</i>

Like *baréa* is conjugated *kóulea* 'I become blind.' Like *matséa* are conjugated *tatséa*³ 'I become warm,' *sahtséa*⁴ 'I recover from an illness, thrive, flourish,' and *sikéa*⁵ 'I learn.'

	am opened	itch	am cold	understand	am found
S. 1.	<i>phirázēa</i>	<i>χandzáa</i>	<i>šiléa</i>	<i>αχάja</i> ⁶	<i>alápēa</i>
2.	<i>phirázisa</i>	<i>χandžisa</i>	<i>šiléisa</i>	<i>αχσίsa</i>	<i>alápisa</i>
3.	<i>phirázila</i>	<i>χandžila</i>	<i>šiléila</i>	<i>αχσίla</i>	<i>alápila</i>
Pl. 1.	<i>phirázasa</i>	<i>χandžasa</i>	<i>šiléasa</i>	<i>αχójasa</i>	<i>alápasa</i>
2.	<i>phirázina</i>	<i>χandžína</i>	<i>šiléina</i>	<i>αχσίina</i>	<i>alápina</i>
3.	<i>phirázina</i>	<i>χandžína</i>	<i>šiléina</i>	<i>αχσίina</i>	<i>alápina</i>

¹ Cf. Colocci: *peim*, caduta.

² Colocci: *baráva*, ingrandire, and *bartváa*, aumentare.

³ Colocci: *tatcháva*, riscaldarsi.

⁴ Colocci: *nassasdjila*, incurabile.

⁵ Colocci: *avrel* (v. B 3) *sikla*, imparare a mente.

⁶ For form cf. Colocci: *djirmayáva* (my *tsirmája*), from *kermaljovava*, under inverminire.

Like *phirázēa* are conjugated: *garázēa* 'I am hidden,' *džan-gázēa*¹ 'I am wakened,' *našázēa* 'I disappear, am lost,' *tasázēa* 'I am drowned, throttled,' *astárzēa* 'I am seized,' *arázēa* 'I am destroyed,' *trašázēa* 'I fear.' Like *šilēa* are conjugated: *purēā*,² *purēisa*, *purēila* 'grow old'; *dēā*, *dēisa*, *dēila* 'go mad'; *parēā*, *parēisa*, *parēila* 'become white, powder the face,' and *piltšēa* 'I marry.' Like *aχāja* are conjugated: *bilājā*, *bilātsa*, *bilātila* 'I melt'; *nasfāja* 'I become ill'; *zorāja* 'I grow strong,' which, however, forms generally *zorēisa*, *zorēila* (see B 3). *aχmisēa*, *aχmisēisa*, *aχmisēila* 'I am mixed,' is a good example of the very rare use of a *sar*-stem in the present tense of the passive voice.

Past Tense

	grew big	became drunk	appeared	was seized	went mad
S. 1.	<i>bariim</i>	<i>matsiim</i>	<i>dišiim</i>	<i>astárziim</i>	<i>deim</i>
2.	<i>barijan</i>	<i>matsijan</i>	<i>dišijan</i>	<i>astárzian</i>	<i>dejān</i>
3.	<i>barilu</i>	<i>matsilu</i>	<i>dišilu</i>	<i>astárzilu</i>	<i>deinū</i>
f. <i>bari</i>	f. <i>matsi</i>	f. <i>diši</i>	f. <i>astárzii</i>	f. <i>dei</i>	
Pl. 1.	<i>barijām</i>	<i>matsijām</i>	<i>dišijām</i>	<i>astárziam</i>	<i>dejām</i>
2.	<i>barijan</i>	<i>matsijan</i>	<i>dišijan</i>	<i>astárzian</i>	<i>dejān</i>
3.	<i>barili</i>	<i>matsili</i>	<i>dišili</i>	<i>astárzili</i>	<i>deinli</i>

	was found	flew	became white	understood	became warm	was melted
S. 1.	<i>alāpiim</i>	<i>frkiséim</i> ³	<i>paréim</i>	<i>aχāim</i> ⁴	<i>tatsiim</i>	<i>bilājim</i>
2.	<i>alāpijan</i>	<i>frkiséjan</i>	<i>paréjan</i>	<i>aχājan</i>	<i>tatsijan</i>	<i>bilājān</i>
3.	<i>alāpilu</i>	<i>frkiséilu</i>	<i>paréilu</i>	<i>aχāilu</i>	<i>tatsilu</i>	<i>bilātilu</i>
f. <i>alāpii</i>	f. <i>frkiséii</i>	f. <i>paréii</i>	<i>aχēii</i>	f. <i>tatsii</i>	f. <i>bilāti</i>	
Pl. 1.	<i>alāpijam</i>	<i>frkiséjam</i>	<i>paréjam</i>	<i>aχājam</i>	<i>tatsijām</i>	<i>bilājām</i>
2.	<i>alāpijan</i>	<i>frkiséjan</i>	<i>paréjan</i>	<i>aχājan</i>	<i>tatsijan</i>	<i>bilājān</i>
3.	<i>alāpili</i>	<i>frkiséili</i>	<i>paréili</i>	<i>aχāili</i>	<i>tatseli</i>	<i>bilātili</i>

From the above examples it will be seen that the original accentuation of the passive is not always preserved, especially in the case of monosyllabic stems.

A perusal of the above paradigms will show the reader that the Drindaris conjugate their loan-verbs from an *iz*-stem in the present tenses, and frequently from a *sar*-stem in the past tenses,

¹ Colocci: *džangadjāa*, svegliarsi, and again *diangàdjea*, risvegliare.

² Colocci: *pureāva*, invecchiare. *Purēā* is from *puranjovava*; the words *phurō*, *phurjovava* are not used in Drindari.

³ Colocci: *furdjādjāva*.

⁴ For form cf. Colocci: *djikaim*, insudiciare, from *čikālijom*.

therein agreeing with Paspatis's Gypsies. There is no trace of the Sofia *in-* stem for loan-verbs, nor does a *d* precede the *iz-* as in Sofia it precedes the *in-* in the case of Turkish loan-verbs. The latter may, however, as in East Bulgarian Moslem dialects, be incorporated into the sentence with the Turkish inflection.

VERBAL PECULIARITIES

The future is formed by prefixing the syllable *mo-* to the present. This *mo-* is probably derived from *mangáv*, as *ka-* is derived from *kamáv*. The quality of the vowel heard in this monosyllable is very changeable, but I have not discovered any rule, beyond a certain idea of euphony, which would prompt the speaker to pronounce it as *ma-*, *mu-*, *mo-*, *mɛ-*, or *mí-*.¹ For examples see the texts. The present tenses, *i.e.* present and future and subjunctive, all appear to postpone the well-known *a* (thus, *keresa*) *ad libitum*, and without any change in the meaning.

A few causative verbs are formed in the ways already familiar to students of Paspatis, *e.g.* *phirá* 'I walk,' *phiráá* 'I lead about'; *našá* 'I run away,' *našáá* 'I lose'; *čhindá* 'I cut,' *čhinzará* 'I cause to be cut'; *čorá* 'I steal,' *čorziará* 'I cause to be stolen by another'; *gená* 'I count, read,' *genzará* 'I cause to be read'; *kerá* 'I do,' *kerziará* 'I cause to be done.' But the majority are formed by a combination of a participial stem with the verb *kerá* 'I do, make,' and this in a way which at first sight appears peculiar to the Drindari, that is by adding *kerá* to the stem plus the *Bindevocal i* which receives the *Mouillirung*. I subjoin a list of examples:—

asaikerá, I make laugh; part. *asanu* (see C 6 and note).

bešikerá, I make sit down; part. *bešlu* (see C 5).

dukhaikerá, I give pain to; part. *dukhanu* (see C 6 and note).

čumiskerá, I cause to be kissed.

čhorikerá, I cause to be poured out; part. *čhordu* (see C 1).

mothazikerá, I cause to be related; part. *mothadu* (see C 2).

muterzikerá, I make pass water (horses); part. *muterdu* (see C 2).

našikerá, I make run away, *i.e.* I elope with.

perikerá, I cause to fall.

¹ Cf. Colocci: *momokála* (*mo-mukda la*) under *vuotare*; and *mèma tchindális* (*mɛ ma-tsinda lis*) under *compratore*.

roikerá, I make cry.

rozikerá, I cause to be sought for; part. *rodú* (see C 2).

soikerá, I lull to sleep.

šilaikerá-man, I catch cold.

The following may be the explanation of these forms: Paspatis has *koré-keráva*, from *korjá-keráva*. The *j* converts *a* to *e* and then to *i*. Hence *ēhordja-kerava* > *ēhordi-kerá* > *ēhorikerá*, more or less according to Drindari phonetics. Words which, like *perikerá*, *roikerá*, *soikerá*, cannot be explained in this way, may be formed by analogy. I cannot account for the *s* in *šumiskerá*.

The first person singular and plural of the present tenses of the verbs 'to give' and 'to take' receive a faint *Mouillirung*, thus *déá*, *léá*.¹

The passives of the verbs 'to eat' and 'to drink' are irregular, *pitzila*, 'it is drinkable,' *χatzila* 'it is eatable.' One would have expected *pínzil* and *χánzil*, as other dialects have *píndjol* and *χándjol*.

The active form of *teráva* appears to be used with an intransitive meaning, e.g. *moterél* 'he will stop,' *tére* (imperative) 'stop!' Compare Colocci: *mirno na tirila*, under *Schiamazzare*, literally he doesn't remain quiet (peaceful).

I now come to the few verbs which appear to be peculiar to this dialect, and are unknown to all others:—

1. *šinkjá* 'I go' (Colocci: *djankiáva*), past participle *genkú*, *gelkó*, *genklú*, fem. *genki*, plur. *genklí*. It would seem to be a compound of *džáva* and *inkjáva*. The ordinary word is also used in the present tense, and is pronounced *ža*, *žáa*.

2. *dišá*² 'I seem, appear'; causative *dišará* 'I show.' *dišá*, *dišís*, *dišíl*, is in form as well as in meaning a Drindari passive verb, for the *Mouillirung* is absorbed by the *š*, as in *pašá* 'I lie down' (see Rule B 1). It supposes a former *dišljovava* and corresponds with the *dikhljovava* of other dialects. Dr. Sampson has suggested that it may be a more primitive form of that verb, with the Sanskrit *ś* preserved. One has hitherto supposed *dikháva* to be derived from a form corresponding to the Sanskrit aorist stem *drkš*. But *dišáva* goes quite naturally straight back to the Sanskrit *drś*, as *iló* to *hrd* and *khil* to *ghrta*. Mr. Ackerley also suggested the connexion between *dišáva* and *dikhljovava*. The past tense is *dišílú*, 'he, it appeared,' fem. *dišíí*, quite regularly

¹ Cf. Colocci: *deáva*, 'dare,' and *liava*, *prendere*.

² Colocci: *disháva*, *mostrare*.

according to Drindari phonetics. Of course this has nothing to do with Sofia *disjol* 'it dawns,' and *disjaráv* 'I make daylight come.' The latter are denominatives from *díes* 'day.' *Dišarà* must have been formerly *dišljaráv*. The Drindaris do not often use *sikad* for 'to show,' except in a technical sense, 'to show a person the wrong thing, to tempt one to evil, to teach wrong,' but they have got *sikéà*, *sikís*, *sikíl*, 'to learn,' from *sikljovav*, *sikljós*, *sikljól* (see Rules B 1 and 2, and C 5).

3. *piltséà* or *piltséa* 'I marry' (intransitive); past tense *pilt-séilu*, past participle *piltú* 'married,' fem. *piltsé*. *piltséà* is derived from a former *piltjovava*, but *piltséilu* and *piltséa* suppose the existence of a former *piltsáljovava*. *Piltsú* is also heard for *piltú*. Colocci has *piltú*, and, under sposo di fresco, *pildjèilu*.

4. *sivázda*, *siváda* 'I betroth, give in marriage,' adj. *sivamlú* 'betrothed,' fem. *sivamí* (see C 5).¹

There are other verbs which, while equally mysterious, are not exclusively known to the Drindaris. For instance *bundžará* 'I tuck up my sleeves, skirts, etc.' is known to the Sedentary Moslems of Rustchuk. In fact, since writing this article for the first time, I have been getting into touch with the Kalaidji or tribe of tanners of copper vessels, whose dialect I have persistently neglected, owing to its being the least well preserved perhaps in the whole of the Balkan Peninsula, and to my surprise I have found that they use a word *dsavzjarav*, meaning 'to show.' I hope to report soon upon all the tribes inhabiting North-east Bulgaria.

The strange meaning of the causative of *uxťjáv* 'to rise,' namely Sofia *uxťaváv* 'I cut out, off, etc., pluck,' Varna Moslem sieve-makers *futaváv* 'I cut off,' is again found in the Drindari dialect, e.g. *uxťajás luluzá* 'he plucked flowers.' Not knowing this meaning of the word, I translated the expression *uxťaghján mo vogí* wrongly in the *Devléskeri Paramtsi* (*J. G. L. S.*, vi. 12 and 18). It obviously means: 'You have plucked out my heart' (from the door where it was imprisoned in the wood).

zába 'I sing,' is not so mysterious as it looks. The *Übergangstufen*, quite regularly according to Drindari phonetics, are *zába* < *zjába* < *gǵijába* < *gǵiljábav*.

¹ Cf. Colocci: *sivadjea*, fidanzare, and *sivamlú*, fidanzato.

OTHER WORDS

Thríma (sub-dialect *číma*) 'a little,' *oarsénde* 'the day before yesterday,' *dzizá* 'gums,' *zíkú* 'small,' all found likewise in Colocci;¹ and *balamúr*² 'gentile,' *avínlará* 'next morning,' are among the strange words found in this dialect, in which sometimes nothing, at other times a syllable here and there, gives the student a clue to their origin. For *ásuja* 'tears,' one would expect *ásua*. The well-known preposition *turjál* is found in this dialect in its locative form *turjé*. When recently at Shumla, among a colony of Moslem musicians speaking a sub-dialect of Drindari, I noticed that they used the locative case of other adverbs as yet only recorded in the ablative case. For example, they said *perdé* 'on the other side' instead of *perdál*, the only form hitherto recorded.

Finally, not content with the means which nature has given them for concealing their thoughts and utterances, not only from gentiles but from all other Gypsies, they think it necessary to go further still, and to invent a slang of their own, which they call *garazí čhib*, and which consists of nicknames in genuine Romani or in Bulgarian and words borrowed from Armenian, they having more or less intimate relations with Armenian procurers and dancing girls. Many of these words refer to different coins. Thus *čayk* (literally 'a leg') means one lev (a franc), as does also *čhoréngo* or *čhorwitrú*³ (lit. 'the bearded one'), because of the effigy of King Ferdinand, with his pointed beard, upon some of the coins; *uski* (Armenian), *altéi*⁴ (Turkish *altın* 'gold'), *žélto* (Bulgarian for 'yellow'), and *šilahí* 'the cold one'—all four mean a napoleon, which latter word is also used and pronounced *napoleói*;⁵ *tsepálú* (lit. 'the skinny one') is one piastre, *šál tsepálí* a hundred piastres; *χongalé*, ('the smelly ones,' from *χυγγ*⁶ 'incense,' an Armenian word, and probably referring to the smell of Bulgarian bank-notes, which generally get scented after much circulation), and *mangís* (said to be Armenian) are both words for money in general.

¹ Colocci: *thima*, poco; *ovarsindi*, avantieri; *tidjá*, gengiva; *djìkur*, piccolo. In *ovarsindi*, *ovar* may be *aver*; *djìkur* may be a corruption of *tsiknořo*; *avínlará* may contain *javiné*. The Kalaidžis have *číma* 'little.'

² Paspatis: *balamó*, *balamni*, *balaman*, Greek.

³ Colocci: *tchorvitalú*, barbuto.

⁴ Colocci: *altii*, oro.

⁵ Cf. Miklosich s.v. *poli* and the Italian Romani *polian*, which Miklosich takes for acc. pl.!

⁶ Colocci: *honk*, *hong*, incenso.

Nicknames for women are : (1) *šernanzi* 'barehead.' (2) *gomí* (origin unknown) is probably not akin to *romní*, since *gomí* is used, at least by the Drindaris, to mean a man also, in which case it takes a masculine adjective. In either case it is applied to gentiles, not Gypsies. I once thought Paspatis's *gomní*, which he heard once, was simply *romní*, the more so as some tribes use an *r grassayé* in lieu of *r*, which might lose its trill and become a *g*, but this opinion must now be reconsidered. (3) *khulí*, or *lâshi khulí*, or *khulái*, said of a buxom person, *khulái* being a slang synonym for *bul*, and a fem. adjective derived from *khul*.

Local Bulgarian Tartars are called *masalí*, because they are said to eat more meat than other people. *mingián* (said to be Armenian) generally denotes a Vlach Gypsy, but is also applied to all Gypsies. *koinčo* (an Armenian word) is used to deceive other Gypsies, instead of the word *rom*. *dádžek* is a Turk (an Armenian word). It was hardly necessary for them to adopt this word, as they never use *χοραχái* for Turk, as do all other tribes, but the word *šutaló*, which they do not connect with *šut*, vinegar, though that may be the origin of it; fem. *šutalí*, for *šutalnjí*; adj. and adv. *šutalanú*, *šutalanés*.

šamlú is said to be very much *garazí žib* for bread, but it would appear to be not at all mysterious (see Paspatis's *tcham*).

A slang verb meaning 'to go, move on, clear out,' is *χáuzēá*, imperative *χáuzi* in *χáuzi koitár* 'get you hence.' It has a causative: *χauskerá*, e.g. *χauskér-la* 'kick her out.'

šayalú is synonymous with Paspatis's *paravén*, or the *selám* of most Moslem Gypsies, and means: salutations, greeting.

sómrolós means 'greetings.' But I have not yet cleared up its origin or formation.

*genziardú*¹ is 'a priest,' literally 'a learned man,' who can read, from *genzjarav*, to read or cause to be read.

The well-known word *tsíro* 'time,' is found in this dialect in the form of *tsírus*, meaning 'weather,' e.g. *o tsírus phiradú*² 'the weather is clear.' The word is unknown to most Balkan tribes.

Colocci's Vocabulary is well worth studying. It is full of remarkably interesting 'Drindari' forms, some of which I have not yet met with. There are, for example, many abstract nouns ending in *-atar*: *tchumimatar-baccio*; *himgatar* (I cannot explain this) under *attinger acqua*; *isberkimatar* (Bulgarian root) *-sbagliare*; *ohdjimatar* (cf. Drindari *uxtsa* 'I jump') *-salto*; *ohleimatar-salvamento*; *palalísti djamatar* (going after him) *-seguire*; *kidjimatar-frequentare*; *blidjimatar-leccamento*; *hidjimatar* (origin unknown to me) *-lavorare al torno*. (See also *hidji* under *slancio*.)

¹ Colocci: *guendjardù*, letterato.

² Colocci: *pirù tcheris*, tempo aperto.

djissèi-sabbia may be from *kisaj* 'sand'; *hlamik-sensale* is also the Drindari form of the word *ḡanamik* (origin Armenian); *endei-parente* is the Drindari form of the somewhat rare word meaning 'relative' which I found in Sofia as *endanja* (plural), and which is found in some Hungarian dialects; *emàva-portare* recalls the Kalajdzi form *antava* for *anava*; *parhilù-screpolato* may be an attempt to render the ṛ: *paṛilu*. Some translations given are rather amusing: *inferno* is translated *andi pù*. Evidently the interrogator pointed downwards in trying to explain to the Gypsy what he wanted; *rubatore* is translated *o-dà tchorla*, lit. he too steals; *incorregibile o-da na kerdjila* 'that too is not done.' Words are at times wrongly divided: *djipa salù-notizia* for *dzipas alu* 'something has come'; *tolis risku-macrocefalo*, and *tulishi risku-zotico* is simply *thulì šerisku* 'fathead.'

agùilei-primavera is from Romani *avgo nilaj* 'first summer'; *ludjilò-salato* is for *luzilu* from *londjilo* 'salted'; *saldji mol-puro vino* is evidently my *sahtsi mol* 'pure wine,' from *sastiji mol*.

diminuire-thimus kerāa lit. to make small (*thimu thrima*); *dimagrire-sayara* is my *sajaa* from *sajovava*; *gambero-karadji* is my *karazi* from *karavidini*; *innocuo-nane djari* for *nan i zarari*, lit. there is no harm (Turkish *zarar*).

stantio, aradii, i.e. gone bad, spoiled, lit. destroyed, is well known to most East Bulgarian dialects: *aravāv*=I destroy.

SENTENCES

N.B.—I have not always given the linguistic equivalent of each Drindari word in the Romani translation. I have simply endeavoured to render the sentences in good Sofia Romani. The numbers in the notes refer to the numbers of the sentences.

1. *Ma žinkjé kotká, mo-mudarén amén.*
Ma džá othé, ka-mudarén amén.
 Do not go there, they will kill us.
2. *Kskalá phabá alápina andé Varnáte.*
Akalká phabajá arakhádjon ándi Várna.
 These apples are found in Varna.
3. *O dar mo-phirázil enjénde.—Phirázilo.*
O vudár kaphutérdjovel ko saḡáti énja.—Phutérdjilo.
 The door will be opened at nine o'clock.—It has been opened.
4. *Nžnši nikhanzoró. O khšr kórkoufu.*
Nanáí níko. O kher kórkoro.
 There is no one. The house is empty.
5. *Chas u šolá pš mejéti, umblázilu-tar.*
Chitjás o šeló pe menjáte, umbládjilo.
 He cast the rope about his neck, he hanged himself.
6. *Te puréis, te paréi te baťá.*
Te phúrjos, te párnjon te balá.
 May you grow old, may your hair grow white.
7. *Kšká pai našt piťzila.*
Akavká panť naští píndjol.
 This water cannot be drunk.

8. *Náma ma mo-žínkjá ži lésti, tu-da mo-tsíts.*
Me náma kamdžáv dží léste, tu-da kamkhínjoves.
 I will not go as far as to him, you too will be tired.
9. *Mo-našikerá la láke dštske khšréstar.*
Kamnašaláv la lákere dadéskere kheréstar.
 I will make her run away from her father's house.
10. *Uχitsí e tawaístar, kai beští sas upré.*
Uχlistí e tavanóstar, kai beští sas opré.
 She descended from the loft, where she was sitting up there.
11. *Akaná mu-atla. Uréila-pes i ēhší,—šukár ureizí !*
Akaná kaavél. Urjavél-pes i ēhai,—šukár urjavi !
 Now she will come. The girl is dressing,—beautifully dressed !
12. *Na dištla kai mu-oéla phiradí o tstrus.*
Nanáí pendžár kai o vréme kamphirádjol.
 It does not show (seem, appear) that the weather will clear up.
13. *Kšké (=fem.) kóndura mo pířó dukhaikerla.*
Akiká kóndura me pířés dukhavél.
 This boot hurts my foot.
14. *Rozím, rozím, náští alakhím.*
Rodinjóm, rodinjóm, naští arakhljóm.
 I searched and searched, but could not find.
15. *Kšká pamútsi pakó, šukár.*
Akavká pamúki šužó, šukár.
 This cotton is clean, fine.
16. *Kšká mas zoraló, ko mu-keríl pánda thrímu.*
Akavká mas zoraló si, ke kamkírjol pánda χart.
 This meat is hard, let it cook a little more.
17. *Mo-dišarél améngi sos alú-tar pe dšístar.*
Kamsikavél aménge so aló pe dadéstar.
 He will show us what has come from his father.
18. *Kikesái butst ásla na dišti-tar e svēātóste.*
Kasaví butí ásla na díkhili andé dūnjás.
 Such an affair never was seen in the world.
19. *Kai-to alápiim-tar uším mo thanístar, genkím ko khār.*
Kai arakhádijlóm uštínjóm me thanéstar, geljóm ko kher.
 I arose from the place in which I found myself, and went to the house.

20. *Kské ěhsi ekhé ěhats benzás.*
Akiká ěhai jekhé ěhavés bianghjás.
 That girl brought forth a son.
21. *Te ětnkjá ko kĥsr, te piá mol, te matséá, te pašá, te sod.*
Te džav kheré, te piáv mol, te máťjovav, te pášľjovav, te sováv.
 Let me go home, drink wine, get drunk, lie down and sleep.
22. *Lamadĭ te asán, but asant-tar.*
Lilé te asán, but asánile.
 They began to laugh, they laughed much.
23. *Náma ma-mothá, zerrím mo-déjā.*
Nána kamphenáv les, zerré kamdéniljovav.
 I will not tell it, or I shall go mad.
24. *Kské terĭ ěhsi, rakt, beštĭ sas turjé e jagá.*
Akiká ternĭ ěhai, rakĭ, beštĭ sas turjál i jag.
 That young girl, lass, was seated about the fire.
25. *Kské ěrga buzĭngs zurĭndar kĕrzili-tar.*
Akiká ěrga (poxtán) buzniéngere zarjéndar kĕrdili.
 This cloth is made of goats' hairs.
26. *Di ksklé terĭ ěha ek phabái. Náma mo-dĕń.*
De akulké terné ěhajá jek phabái. Nána kadáv.
 Give that young girl an apple. I won't give one.
27. *Lis ándu tsil thoĭm-tar.*
Les ándo khil thoghjóm.
 I put it into the fat.
28. *Kai gurui parnú prasnjáko dĕla.*
Kali gurunni parnó thud del.
 A black cow gives white milk.
29. *Ambrolĭnta pheri ek seri.*
Ambrolĭnta pherli jek seri.
 A basket full of pears.
30. *Kské pumi thui; láki musi zavei.*
Akĭki pumi thui si; lákeri musi zarjál si.
 This woman is fat; her arm is hairy.
31. *Paĭa i stunda, uširi te kĕrin.*
Paĭa i gĭľenda, ušine te kĕřen.
 After the songs they got up to dance.
32. *Zala maggi ěk gugi pomaĭ ě.*
Gĭľáke maggi ěk gĭľa pomaĭ gĭ.
 Sing me a sweet Gypsy song.

33. *Te léas thríma aró te kerás i bokt.*
Te las χαρí aró te kerás i bokolí.
 Let us take a little flour, to make the cake.
34. *Kské phiví hem puréi, hem barvat, hem-da éhslsí.*
Adiká phivlí hem phurí, hem barvalí, hem-da si éhelalí.
 This widow is both old, rich, and marked with smallpox.
35. *O kahíjaku por pelú-tar uprál andé baréti.*
E kaχnjákoro por peló uprál ándi bar.
 The hen's feather fell from above into the enclosure.
36. *I pureí thabíi psíske.*
I phurí thábili panjéske.
 The old woman was dying for water.
37. *I momíatar khóí kapézila, pérta e phujéti.*
E momeljatar khamí éuljál, perél ándi phuv.
 From the candle grease trickles, falls on to the ground.
38. *Thríma wakítsésti mo-sikíl.*
χαρí zamanjéstas kamsíkljol.
 He will learn after a short time.
39. *Of na éorla lot, amá avrénde éorjára la psíki.*
Ov na éoréla lové, amá avrénde éorjarél psíke.
 He doesn't steal money, but gets others to steal for him.
40. *Les na mangím te díkhá les. Amaró χái avréste mothazíkerim.*
Les na mangljóm te díkháv les. Amaró háli avréste vakjar-
kjarghjóm.
 I did not wish to see him. I got another to tell him of our condition.
41. *Mo-ínkil trinénde.*
Kam-íkljol ko saxáti trin.
 He will come out at three o'clock.
42. *Kána sías kítká? Ratsí-mi? Everát-mi?*
Kána sas athé? Aratí-mi? i avérrat-mi?
 When was he here? Last night? The night before last?
43. *Kskslé kitapéste póšukar genzípt si.*
Akalké ketapjéste póšukar paramtsja si.
 In this book there are better stories.
44. *Me káta rat e gazéta genziará la.*
Me sjáki rat e gazeté éetinkjaráv la.
 I cause the newspaper to be read to me every night.

45. *Kána kszklís u manzín díšarás, ápi genki-tar.*
Kána akalkés o mangín sikaghjás, togái geli-tar.
 When she had shown this one the treasure, then she departed.
46. *Kikitsi wakítsi na ačhilú-tar mánđe.*
Edekt but vréme nan'ačhiló mánđe.
 So much time does not remain to me.
47. *Léske šošani lolí.*
Léskere mustátja lolé si.
 His moustache is red.
48. *Tréaba t'aíl tasá avínlará.*
Trebe t'aavél tasjá javiné.
 He must come to-morrow morning.
49. *Kudá rom tha kudé romí muai dže rátsi.*
Kadavá rom thai kadiá romni kamavén beljáke.
 This man and this woman will come towards nightfall.
50. *Kai nakistó o másek genkú (or gelkó) Pazardžikóste.*
Kai nakló o másek geló ándi Dóbrič.
 Last month he went to Dóbrič.
51. *U čhâr telá píréndi uxčajás-tar.*
O čhar telál pe píre uštjaghjás.
 He trampled upon the ashes under his feet.
52. *Otká sim káta zes, amá zivisé t'ais.*
Othé sinjóm séki diés, amá dié t'aavés.
 I am there every day, but come in the day-time.
53. *But loizám túke. Szi si kské butsi? Amin naši terás kítká dži kai aratsíl.*
But žarghjám asál túke. Sari si adiká buti? Amé naši térgjovas akatká dži kai rátjol.
 We have waited for you long. What is the matter? We cannot stop here till night comes on.
54. *Našim (or našim or našatm) mi tsitsi, paraduintsá pheri.*
Našalghjóm mi kisi, pherdi páres.
 I have lost my purse, full of money.
55. *O zif táčhó, sar altéi.*
O giv isi lačó, sar somnakál.
 The corn is good, and like gold.

56. *Kská ambról guglú, kské phabái pále tsirí.*
Akavka ambról gudló si, amá adiká phabái kirní ist.
 This pear is sweet, but this apple is rotten.
57. *Ek barí dandiás man.*
Jek berúli phusaghjás man.
 A bee has stung me.
58. *Kské gomí kána-tu šunziás-tar, but asajás.*
Adiká džuvli kána šunghjás, but asánili.
 When this woman heard, she laughed much.
59. *Me túke kská čhipás mo-mothá túke.*
Me túke váreso čoká kaphenáv túke.
 I will tell you of such and such an affair.
60. *Mš čháví tha mš čhsjá pánda na žínna te gentín, te pišézin.*
Me čhavé thai me čhajá pánda na džanéna te četínen, te pišínen.
 My sons and daughters do not yet know how to read and write.
61. *Me te dása aím-tar.*
Me te dajása aljóim.
 I have come with your mother.
62. *Kskalá romjá čouš.*
Akalká romnjá čoré si.
 These women are poor.
63. *Kskslé čoulé romín dim len po deš parés.*
Akalké čoré romén dinjóim len po deš páres.
 I gave these poor men each ten paras.
64. *Mo-omblain len ta kidé mo-mudarén len.*
Kamumblavén len ta čoká kamudarén len.
 They will hang them, and thus they will kill them.
65. *I planjatar sora mo-žinkjén, o rizá mo-čranden len.*
Palál o pláanne kamdžan, kamčranljarén e rezén.
 After mid-day they will go, they will dig (in) the vineyard.
66. *Po bač i kaŋgiása črandela len.*
Pe balén e kaŋgljása uxljavél len.
 He combs his hair with the comb.
67. *Po šoró čaréla, čarajás, či čandžila-les.*
Pe šerés čaravél, čaraghjás, kai čándžola-les.
 He scratches, scratched his head, for it itches.

68. *Ek trápus χάννα, te thoél o parés, parχοzidh len otká.*
χράndel jek χev, thai thovél o páres, praxónel okotká.
 He digs a hole, and puts in the money, buries it there.
69. *Mo phejáku éhou nasfalú. Mo phejáki šápka pharazí.*
Me phenjágoro éhavó nasfaló si. Me phenjákeri stadí
pharadí si.
 My sister's child is ill. My sister's hat is torn.
70. *Kskilís lim mo phejatar.*
Akalkés linjóm me phenjatar.
 This I took from my sister.
71. *Tumín dikhína, amá na aχáina hié.*
Tumé dikhén, amá na aχáljoven hié.
 You see, but you don't understand at all.
72. *Akaná na patséana, amá ko m'atn te dikhén.*
Akaná na pakjána, amá néka avén te dikhén.
 Now they don't believe, but let them come and see.
73. *Of éinna, amá na mothéila améngs.*
Ov džanéla, amá na vakerél améngs.
 He knows, but he does not tell us.
74. *Airat (better aratsi) sui rat kheim-tar, zabatm-tar.*
Aratí sa i rat khelghjóm, giliábiljom.
 Last night I danced and sang all night.
75. *Len gadí len ko konátsi.*
Igaldé len ko konáki.
 They led them to the police station.
76. *Pherás pe džebá paraduínsa.*
Pherghjás pe džebá páres.
 He filled his pocket with money.
77. *Te pherás la xongalínsa.*
Te pherás la lila.
 Let us fill it with bank-notes.
78. *Pureibnástar bánzilu lésku dumó, nāší phírla.*
Phuribnástar bángilo léskoro dumó, naští phirél.
 From old age his back is bent, he cannot walk.
79. *Beibnáski dukh astarás la, éi mo-beint.*
Bianibnáskeri dukh astarghjas la, kai kambíanel.
 Pains of child-birth have seized her, for she will bring forth.

80. *O rozibnástar tsit'm-tar.*
E rodibnástar khiniljom.
 I am tired of searching.
81. *But kai peim-tar, mi gozi wortsisíi-tar.*
But kai peljóm, mi godí vërtisáili.
 From falling much my brain reeled.
82. *Trašátar zraim-tar.*
Trašátar lizdráliljom
 From fear I trembled.
83. *I χalktn χοχαέλα, šeitanlítsísa parvárta-pes.*
E narodós χοχavél, bengibnása parvarél-pes.
 He deceives the people, and nourishes himself with devilry.
84. *Čoribnása beští sam.*
Čoribnása sinjám bešté.
 We live in poverty.
85. *Andár o Sütalanú alú-tar.*
Andár o Xoraxanipé aló.
 He has come from Turkey.
86. *Of mæjeséilu-tar.*
Ov kšsnisáilo.
 He delayed.
87. *But erkén žangázim-tar.*
But javiné džangáljiljom.
 I awoke very early.
88. *Varnáti benziim-tar me.*
Andi Várna biániljom.
 I was born in Varna.
89. *Kána mo-parχozín les?*
Kána kapraχónen les?
 When will they bury him?
90. *Na žínsa, ek kurkó anglé parχodí les.*
Na džanés, jekhé kurkéstar anglé parondé les.
 Do you not know, a week ago they buried him.
91. *I χánunka beští ko čárdakus, on-da beští kotká.*
I χánunka beští sas ko salónos, on-da bešté otkotká.
 The Turkish lady was seated in the drawing-room, and they
 were seated there too.

92. *Kskalá dui romá deññi-tar tatsipnástar.*
Akalká dui romá denñjile e tatipnástar.
 These two Gypsies went mad on account of the heat.
93. *O tsirus svetsizela.*
O vréme párnjol.
 The weather is bright.
94. *I batvát perikerás i kaštíndar o patrjá.*
I balvál peraghjás e kašténdar o patrjá.
 The wind made the leaves fall from the trees.
95. *I žuéł khāmí.*
I džuvlí khabní si.
 The woman is pregnant.
96. *Kské gurut kat, kské pále lot.*
Akiká gurumní kallí si, pále adiká si lolí.
 This cow is black, but that one is red.
97. *Brišindistar pajéilu-tar.*
E brišindéstar súslilo.
 He became wet from the rain.
98. *Láki baré ħši nasfat-tar.*
Lákeri bart ħhai nasfálili.
 Her eldest daughter fell ill.
99. *Bašila kotká jek ħarí.*
Bašéla okotká jek ħerní.
 A she ass is braying yonder.
100. *Lésku mástorus les kskalá butsjá sikajás les.*
Léskoro ūstás les adalká butjá sikaghjás les.
 His master taught him these matters.
101. *Ek saħátsi loedí-tar, pále tsizini-tar.*
Jek saħáti žardé, pále tsidindé.
 They waited an hour and then they left.
102. *Loezi-mo thríma.*
Zar-ta ħarí.
 Wait a bit.
103. *Po pherasésa e ħhâvin asaikerás.*
Pe vakeribnása kerghjás ta t' asán o ħhavé.
 With his talk he made the children laugh.

104. *Treába te róden lis, ti nāšt alakhíla, avrésti te rozikerél les.*
Trébe te róden les, te nāšt arakhél, avréste te rodinkjarél les.
 They must look for it, if he cannot find it he must make
 some one else look for it.
105. *O éhou éuminziás i éha ta éumiskerás po vas láte.*
O ého éumidinjas e éhajá, thai éumidinjkjarghjas po vas láte.
 The boy kissed the girl, and made her kiss his hand.
106. *Šol déla, muterzikarla e grastés.*
Šol déla, muterkjarél e grastés.
 He whistles, makes the horse pass water.
107. *Dukhán man mo dandéngi dzizá.*
Dukhál man mi dandéngeri thar.
 My gums are aching.
108. *Mo jekhingš ásuja londí.*
Me jakhéngere ásfes si londé.
 The tears of my eyes are salt.
109. *Sóske mistíza? Ma mistzi. O Del šukár si, pomotzila*
amén o Del.
Sóske mistínes? Ma mistíne. O Del lačó si, pomogínel
amén o Del.
 Why are you cogitating? Do not cogitate. God is good,
 God will help us.
110. *Avínlará enjénde mo-žangázéa indrátar, mo-piás po jek kawés.*
Tasjarín ko saḡáti énja kamžangáljovav e lindrátar, kam-
piás po jek kavés.
 To-morrow morning at nine I will awake from sleep, we will
 drink each a cup of coffee.
111. *Čhidí than upré čaréti, beští otká.*
Čhifé poxtán opré e čarjáte, bešté okotká.
 They threw a cloth upon the grass, they sat there.
112. *I butst nsnši pharí, lotsí.*
I butí nandí pharí, amá lésno si.
 The work is not difficult, it is easy.
113. *Satí učí i éšai, ánla mš kalévres.*
Santí učí (učí) i éhai si, ánla (ánéla) me papúteja.
 Slender and tall is the girl who is bringing my shoes.
114. *Čéndila amín.—Potázi!*
Čándela (vikínel) amén.—Táine!
 He is calling us.—Be silent!

115. *Kikidela man but.*
Kidel man but.
 It hurts me much.
116. *Čhungázeas phujéti. Pále alú leski čhâzipti.*
Čhungadinjás e phuvjáte. Pále aló leske čhadibé.
 He spat upon the ground. Then there came to him a sickness.
117. *Resila keitsi ka behčâm-tar kâtkâ.*
Resél edekî but kai bešljâm athé.
 It is enough, so long we have sat here.
118. *Džin mángi mo kîzâja.*
χav sovéł uprál me čhavéngere šerénde.
 I swear on the head of my children.
119. *Trašázêa či oi na rehtsi pánda ko khær.*
Trasáljovav, sóske oi pánda na restjás kheré.
 I am afraid, for she has not yet arrived home.
120. *But aχmimí si amarí čhib.*
But eχmimé si amarí čhib.
 Our language is very mixed.

TEXTS

Gelkî te klatnzen.¹ Inkistî andâr i Džamta. Gelkî-peski ko khær. Beštî te χan mâró. Sôra pašili te suén. Ušini-tar, gelkî kai kaaviné. Beštî te kârna pherás² e Šutaléntsa. Léntsa-da dúi româ, gelkî kai dugjéi.³ Beštî, mol piéna, i mol gurčizela,⁴ matsilî-tar, lamaín⁵ te den-pes. U Šutaléntsa márna-pes. U Šutalî pharadî u roméngo šoró. Alú o džandâri, gajâ⁶ len ko kulútsi, phandî len otkâ. Airât mo-pašén otkâ.

They went to pray. They came out of the mosque. They went home. They sat down to eat. Afterwards they lay down and slept. They arose, went to the coffee-house. They sat down to talk with the Turks. With them were two Gypsies, they went to the wine shop. They sat down, they drink wine, the wine is sour, they got drunk, begin to fight. They come to blows with the Turks. The Turks broke the Gypsies' heads. The policeman came, took them to the lock-up, shut them up there. They will sleep there to-night.

¹ From Bulg. *klatam-se*.

² German Rom. *perjas*; Welsh, I think, *peras* or *peas*; Colocci: *perds*, discorso.

³ Bulg.-Turk.-Arabic *dugjan*, *dukan*.

⁴ Bulg. *gôrko*, bad, bitter; Pasp. *gôrko*.

⁵ Cf. Mik. viii., *lemav*.

⁶ For *gajah*, *gajas*.

Piás túte. Te sahtsis-tu.¹ Akaná so te kerása? But ma rivizi.² Mo-álá tut ek korezi,³ dži napalál ma-axéis. Te na xoízes mánge. Me žiná o butsjá-vare. Tu beš kai to than. Zába mánge ek zi. Mo glásus na inkéla. Dé-xolan, kitsi-ta si, zába otká ek zi. Va,⁴ romíja, éla ktká. Te žinkjás. Mo-matsisa ktká. E romíje, te matséa, tu mo-gas man avrí. He, raklíja, phér-mange o taxtsí. Dikh, akaná. Kskalá čhajá žínna te zaban ti te khelín. Sar šukár oxtsína. Aila amarú gažó. Sósiki lamadi te rivizin andé oddaste? Tu ma axáif kolá pherasá. Amaré butséti na déla of. Na treabízela améngi. Amén te dikhás amarí butsi. Čačés, dogrús. Véki⁵ na ačhi mángi gozi, či-⁶ lažóu⁷-mangi. Sos mokérta akaná oi. Mo-at, mo-mangila amíndar loín. Amá dik kudé romi podurása kárta po mui ta paréila.⁸ Te xas, te piás, te lošázas. Sos mo-xás? Náma⁹ mo-xa níkači.¹⁰ Amá si ktká šukár lonzi zumi, ja londú mačhú ja ek kajardú. Náma mo-xa, náma mo-piá. Motzaa tut, akaná mo-žinkjá ko khšr. Kiketsi but thu dukhaikerla mo šoró. Sahtsipi ga souléngš ko khšr. Za i Divlísa. Ač i Divlísa.

We drink to you. May you prosper. Now what shall we do? Do not shout much. I will give you a slap on the face, afterwards you will understand. Do not be angry with me. I understand these matters (or I know what I'm about). Be seated in your place. Sing me a song. My voice doesn't come out. Come now, as much as it is, sing us a song. Heigh, husband! Come here. Let us be gone. You will get drunk here. Well, wife, if I get drunk, you will lead me out. Come, waiter, fill my glass. See now. These girls know how to sing and to dance. How well they execute the movements.¹¹ Our patron is coming. Why have they started shouting in the room? Don't you take any notice of this talk. It does not concern us (*literally*: it does not give into our business). It is not necessary for us. Let us look to our own affairs. True, quite right. I had already lost my senses (*literally*: already there remained no sense to me), and I am ashamed. What is she going to do now? She will come. She will want money from us. But see how that woman makes her face to become white with powder. Let us eat and drink and rejoice. What will you eat? I

¹ Generally pronounced as if each syllable were separate, thus: *te-sas-'sis-tu*.

² Colocci's *rividjaa*, etc., under *stridere*, *ululato*, *chiamare*, etc. ³ From *kožedini*.

⁴ Not the *va* 'yes' of other dialects, but simply an interjection. For 'yes' they use the verb of the question, or simply the nasalized *ha*, *a*, of so many Oriental nations.

⁵ Bulgarian *veče*.

⁶ From *ke*.

⁷ Perhaps from *ladžavó* (adj.).

⁸ Perhaps from a form **pardnjovela* from a **paranó* for *parnó*. Cf. Colocci's *Baravaldó*.

⁹ Perhaps *náma* is the negative with the pers. pronoun *me*, as I have only recorded it in the 1st pers. sing. so far.

¹⁰ Colocci: *níkadji niente*.

¹¹ The verb is akin to the *xutjav* of other dialects, meaning originally 'to spring, jump,' and in many dialects distinguished from the verb meaning 'to rise' by some change in form: *uxťjav* on the one hand and *xutdv*, *xutjdv* on the other, or *uťjdv* on the one hand and *futdv* on the other, or, as in this dialect, *uša* and *oxťseá*.

will not eat anything. But here is some fine salted soup or salted fish or a cup of coffee. I will neither eat nor drink. I pray you, I will now go home. So much smoke makes my head ache. Take health to all at home. Go with God. Remain with God.

NOTES TO SENTENCES

(N.B.—Col. stands for Colocci.)

1. Col. *djankiàva* andare.
2. Col. *alakàva* trovare.
3. Col. *dar* porta.
4. Col. *ni-kandjurù* nessuno.
4. Col. *nenèi* in *nenèi pillù* under nubile, lit. he is not married.
5. Col. *tchàva* gettare and *tchàa* atterrare.
6. Col. *pureàva* invecchiare.
8. Col. *tchlava* under stanco sentirsi.
10. Nominative *taodì*, from *tavdñi*, not from the Sofia form *tdavnos*, *tavános*.
11. Col. cf. *parnù urèa* under bianco (vestirsi in).
12. Col. *dishàva* mostrare.
12. Col. *pirù tcherùs* tempo aperto.
16. Col. *thima* poco.
20. Col. *tchèi* figlia.
22. Col. *lamàa* spingere.
25. Col. *budjiù* stambecco femmina, from which we may infer that Colocci's Gypsies knew of the disappearance of the *n* before a *Mouillirung*, and probably nasalized. *Budjiù* is Drindari *buzí*.
28. *Prasnjàku* is a slang word used for fresh milk (Bulgarian *presno* 'fresh'). They use *thud* for sour milk, 'yoghurt,' the *kulló thud* of Sofia Gypsies.
29. Col. *sii* paniere. In this case not only the *l* as in my example, but also the *v* has disappeared.
30. Col. *rumi* donna.
31. Col. *djii* canto.
31. Col. *ozisku keipi* (from *khelipe*), under battito di cuore.
32. Col. *djàbala* cantare.
33. Col. *liava* prendere.
34. Col. *pivì* vedova.
35. Col. *kahi* gallina.
37. Col. *mumi* candela.
38. Col. *avrèl sikèa* imparare a mente.
50. Col. cf. *nakestù* under passante.
53. Col. *loidjàva* far guardia.
54. Col. *tchessi* borsa.
59. Col. *yek djtpas* qualche cosa. May one compare the German Romani *čomóni*? (etwas).
62. Col. cf. *tchòuru* under impoverire.
64. Col. *sa-kidè* lit. always thus, under continuamente, see also under così.
67. I could not get the past tense of the simple verb *χατ-* from Čakir, nor the present tense of the causative verb.
74. Col. cf. *suri righèndar*, lit. from all sides, under ovunque.
78. Col. *pureipi* vecchiaja. For *nāši* see p. 278.
79. Col. *beimmāski duk*, under colica.
81. Col. *verdjidjala*, under vertigine.
94. Col. cf. *perikerés* and *perikerdù*, under aborto and abortito.
97. Col. *nane puèilo*, lit. he has not been made wet, or put into water (note the *u* for *σ*), under non battezzato.
107. Col. *tidjà* gengiva.
109. Col. *missidjàva* pensare. See also under riflettere.

109. Col. *pomoidjáva*, *pomoidjela*, under *socorrere* and *soccorso*.
 112. Col. cf. *lodjeràa* *alleggerire*, and *lodgi balval* *venticello*.
 113. Col. cf. *saì* under *venticello* (which again clearly shows that the *z* vanished in Colocci's dialect as in Drindari).
 115. Col. cf. *kikidáva*, under *affrettare*.
 116. Col. *pueti* per terra (from *phujde*).
 118. I was unable to get a literal translation of this sentence. *kizájja* or *kizénts* are children. Col. has *kedjel* in the same meaning, see his translation of *seguace*, 'mother's little one.'
 120. Col. *ahmidjáa*, *ahmistù* *mescolare* and *mescolato*.

Here I must conclude this study for the present. It is not meant to be exhaustive, but is rather in the nature of an introduction to a new and very remarkable branch of Romani philology. The publication of further texts in this dialect may bring to light much interesting matter. There is a large percentage of evidently Drindari words in the Marquis Colocci's vocabulary, which I have not been able to discover in this branch of the dialect.

My teacher, Čakír, the grey-eyed, is an old musician, a native of Kazan, or Kotel, as the Bulgars call it, in the Eastern Balkans. When quite young, his parents died, and he lived for some time with his grandfather, who was a carder of wool, a real Drindari, practising the trade which gives its name to the tribe. His grandfather later on sent him to Shumla, and apprenticed him to a Gypsy horsedealer. Here he fell in love with his master's daughter, but neighbours turned her against him, or as he puts it, 'taught her,' and he ran away to Bucharest. Returning a few years afterwards as a full-fledged musician, he was accepted by the girl. But after a few years of married life, the neighbours again 'taught her,' and he divorced her, and came to Varna, where he married a Gypsy girl of an uncertain tribe and speaking no Romani. Here he has remained ever since. Most respectably dressed, his appearance is that of a Turkish shoemaker in his best clothes. This may be because I see him on Fridays when he comes to me straight from the mosque. Every day of the week, Sundays and Fridays included, he plays in a native *kōtek* or music-hall from 7 P.M. to 3 A.M. He prefers to call this den of licence a *chantant* pronounced here *šantán*, or by him in his awful dialect *šantši*. Here one may see danced the remote cousin of the modern Tango by prostitutes of Armenian, Bulgarian, and Gagaouse¹ race, clad in red

¹ The Gagaouse are a race inhabiting chiefly the Bulgarian coast from Varna to the Roumanian frontier. Their native language is a Turkish dialect, and many of them speak Greek also. The children now learn Bulgarian in the schools, but many of the older people cannot understand a word of the latter language. Their

nightgowns with painted and powdered faces and blackened eye-lashes, their hair flowing unrestrainedly down their backs, while my teacher, grey-eyed and impassive, strums his native guitar on a raised dais at the end of the room, behind the dancing girls.

I have visited this place once, and only once, and sat there just long enough to drink three glasses of beer and a cup of Turkish coffee. Through a haze of smoke and moving figures I could see my teacher enthroned at the end of the long room. And as I listened to the din, produced more by the audience than by the actors, I found that my mind was not dwelling upon its surroundings, but continually reverting to the mystery of the Drindaris and their speech. Among the wild hordes of Gypsies who first crossed the Bosphorus, what place did the Drindaris occupy, supposing they existed at that time as a separate tribe, a supposition highly hypothetical? When did they first specialize in music? Are the Gypsy musicians of other countries their direct descendants? For it is now an established fact that many Gypsy tribes in Europe not only do not earn their living by music and dancing, but are quite unable to dance or to play any instrument. And when did the dialect first start developing? For that it is a dialect, and no mere jargon, must be clear to all philologists. Jargons, slangs, deliberately invented secret languages, are not developed according to uniform phonetic laws, of which the speakers are unconscious. Roughly speaking, the rules which apply to the Drindari verb govern also all other parts of speech in the Drindari dialect. This would be an impossibility were the dialect artificial.

On the other hand, we are confronted with the following puzzle : —The Drindaris are surrounded, literally surrounded on all sides, by dialects which are among the purest recordable in Europe. Were the Drindaris of to-day inhabitants of, say, New Zealand, separated from their brethren by several centuries in time and by half of the world in space, one would understand their having developed a highly specialized dialect of their own. It is just that high specialization, that extraordinary independence which so astonishes one, when one considers the environment. For there is as much difference between many a Drindari word and pure Romani as there is between many French words and their Latin originals, or between Anglo-Saxon and modern English. The

origin is uncertain. They are Christians, and used to be members of the Greek Orthodox Church, hence their knowledge of Greek, and hence the Greek claim that they are of Greek origin, which is, however, doubtful.

comparison is of course otherwise imperfect. For Drindari is not older and 'better' than normal Romani. The very reverse is the case. However, there it exists, in all its ugly independence, a new Gypsy riddle demanding its solution.

The dialects of European Gypsies show signs of being influenced by the phonetic laws of the languages spoken in the countries in which the speakers have settled. They have also decayed grammatically. Witness the dialect of Spain, where Romani *dž* has become *č* and Romani *š* has degenerated to *χ*, according to modern Spanish phonetics. In Spain, too, with the exception of Catalonia, Romani grammar has ceased to exist, save in one or two words, and this is true to a lesser degree of the Gypsy dialects of Great Britain, Armenia, Syria, and Scandinavia. But Drindari has not decayed grammatically at all. It is as sound, grammatically speaking, as the purest known Romani, and search as I may, I cannot find any striking parallel to Drindari phonetics in either modern Greek, Bulgarian, or Turkish. Knowing no Armenian, I recommend the consideration of this matter to some learned member of the Gypsy Lore Society, otherwise the question must remain unsolved until I have learned sufficient Armenian to be able to solve it myself. The point to be put to the professor of Armenian is: What scheme of phonetics forbids an *l* or an *n* to exist when followed by *Mouillirung*, or will not admit the combinations *sti*, *jo*, *dj*, *tj*.¹

¹ I am of opinion that it is unlikely that Armenian will prove the key to the Drindari mystery. The number of Armenian words used in the language is insignificant, and my teacher has given me to understand that they are picked up by his people from the Armenians with whom they come into contact. It must be borne in mind that the Drindaris are summoned to make music during marriage feasts and other rejoicings, and, as my teacher says, it is to their advantage to get at least a smattering of Armenian and Greek, besides Bulgarian and Turkish, which latter two languages they speak fluently. Čakir tells me that they are frequently called in as major-domos, to instruct a family about to celebrate a feast in the usages and customs observable on that occasion, and that they are responsible for any hitch in the ceremony. Of course, if the phonetic system which governs Drindari were found to be the result of Armenian influence, such a discovery would be of the greatest importance. As the question is at present one of pure speculation, it might be better to say no more about it for the moment. The presence of the Armenian words is already sufficiently interesting. What if in the past, and in Europe, other Gypsy tribes have adopted Armenian words, consciously at first, just as do the Drindaris at present? A blow might thus be given to the theory of an exodus from India necessarily via Armenia. As interesting facts I may mention that the word *χunk*, used by several tribes in Eastern Bulgaria as well as by the Drindaris, and meaning 'incense,' is, according to Čakir, the Armenian *hunk*, and that, according to him also, the well-known word *χanamik*, Mik., vii. 60, common to all Gypsy dialects which I have heard in Bulgaria, including the Sofia dialect of Pashi Suljoff, is likewise Armenian.

That is, roughly speaking, the whole problem. The above-mentioned combinations are taboo, and the effort to avoid them causes the strange and unlovely succession of sounds which, for want of a better name, we must be content to call the language of the Drindaris.¹

IV.—THE NAWAR OR GYPSIES OF THE EAST

By FATHER ANASTĀS, THE CARMELITE

(Translated from the Arabic by Alexander Russell)

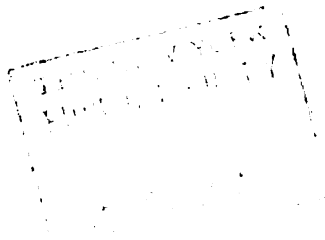
[THE original of the following translation occupies pp. 865-76, 932-40, 966-75, 1031-7, 1077-86 of *Al-Masrik*, vol. v., 1902. The above is a translation of the title from the French table of contents, but the Arabic rhyming title is "إِطْلَاعُ الْحَاضِرِ عَلَى أَطْلَاعِ النُّورِ" (Present Information on the Study of the Gypsies), By the trustworthy writer and refined scholar, Father Anastās, the Carmelite. He composed it in answer to a request of some of the readers of *Al-Masrik* in the past year."

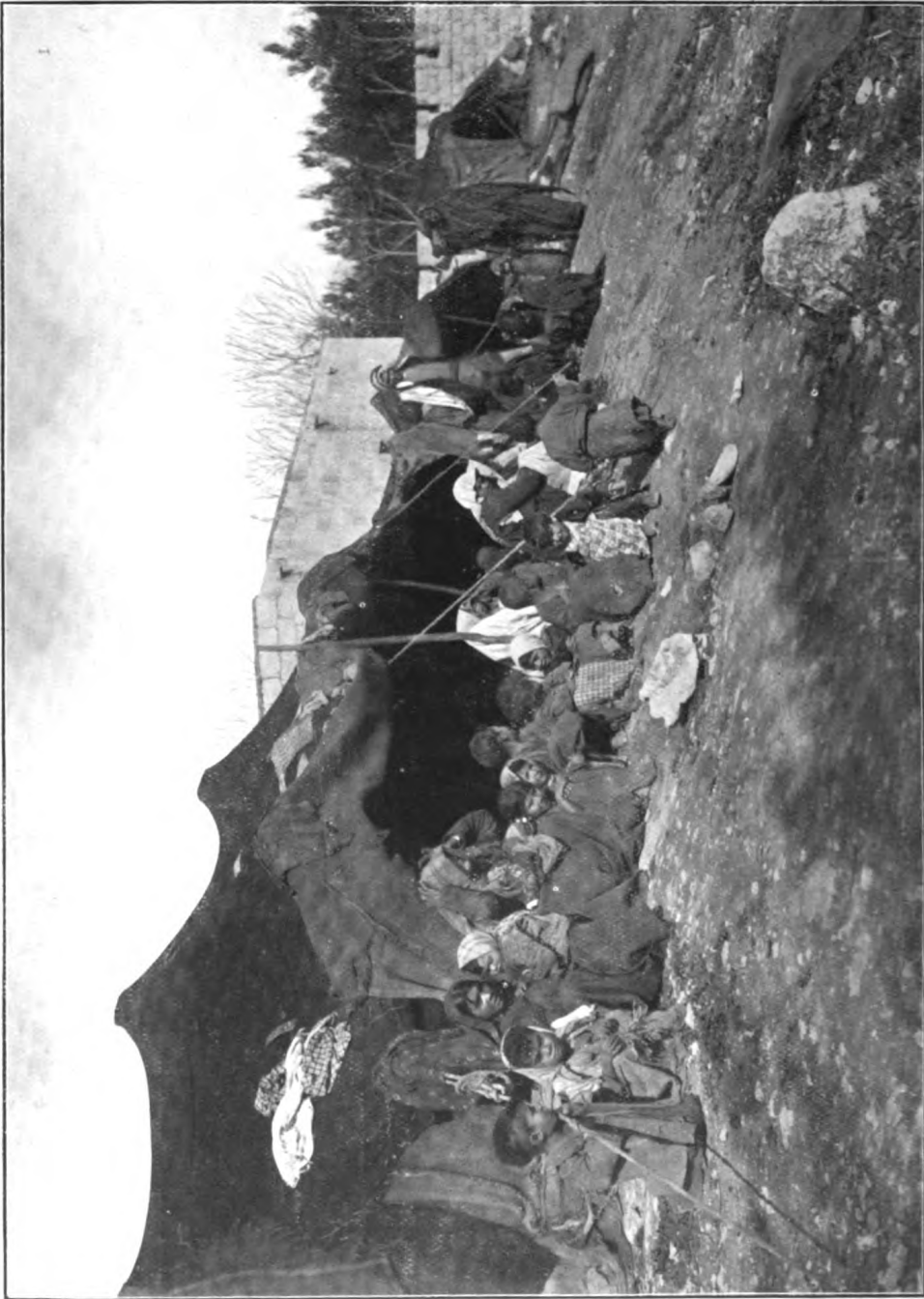
In the transliteration of Arabic and other Oriental names the system used for letters distinguished by accents and diacritical points is that of Wright's *Arabic Grammar*.

d = د	ḏ = ذ	ḏ = ض
ǧ = ج	ǧ = غ	tch = چ
h = ه	h = ح	ḥ = خ
k = ك	k = ق	
s = س	s = ص	ś = ش
t = ت	t = ط	ṭ = ث
z = ز	z = ظ	
ʿ = ع	ʿ = ع	

The translator has to acknowledge the great kindness of Professor R. A. Stewart Macalister in revising and correcting this version. He has also added the footnotes initialled R. A. S. M. The unsigned notes are by the author; those by the translator are marked R.]

¹ The Drindaris call themselves *Romd* and their language *Romanés*.





NURI CAMP TO THE NORTH OF THE DAMASCUS GATE, JERUSALEM

1. *Definition*

THE Nawar or Nawarah are a race of men scattered over every land, a tribe of swindling rogues (*'ayyārūn*),¹ lewd adventurers (*du-"ār*),² wicked nomads, heedless ruffians, to whom homeland and rest are unknown. They unite one with another all and singly, and jealousies are unknown. They are a people having a language belonging exclusively to themselves; they have no religion, and are notorious for their evil habits and the gaining of their living by their well-known arts, or by vicious tricks which do not impose upon them hardship or fatigue.

2. *Historical References to them*

Europeans who have studied all the scattered history of this people, and have recorded notices of them, are agreed that they are not known before the year 1417 A.D. in Europe, or the year 1408 or 1409, or, at the farthest, 1397 in Asia. This view of their dispersal is current, because their outbreak through the different countries took place, according to report, just after the time of Tamerlane's raid on Dehli.³

The Arab historians say nothing about this strange people beyond what the Europeans mention, but transcribe what they write, and adopt their opinion. They are unaware that there is mention of the Nawar in the records of the Arab state; that far and wide they had acquired a name—a bad one—and that they made many a long journey during the events and circumstances which took place a little before [the promulgation of] Islam and after it, as will be shown. This is one fact that proves the

¹ *'ayyārūn*, the plural of *'ayyār*. In the dictionaries this is defined as 'one of the many men who go hither and thither, of evil disposition, nomadic, or one who wanders about without working.' Ibn al-Anbārī says: 'The *'ayyār* is a man whose life and desires are unrestrained; he neither curbs nor checks them.' By the *'ayyārūn* we here mean those who perform strange tricks and extraordinary feats by secret methods before the common people to defraud them of their money. All the well-known writers use it with this meaning. Al-Damīrī says in *Māddah Hirdūn*: 'A man has his skin burned and smeared. He does not feel the pain of beating and cutting, either in his head or his body. The *'ayyārūn* do this, and you can see how they are able to endure beating, etc.' Al-Ḥafāḡī says in the *Ṣafā' l-'Ġalīl*: 'Benū Sāsān, a people of *'ayyārūn* and tricksters. They have crafty arts, etc.' This word corresponds to the French *bateleur*, *jongleur*, *saltimbanque*, *charlatan*.

² *Ad-du-"ār*, the plural of *dā'ir*. The *Tāḡ* defines this as 'impure, harmful, profligate.'

³ Author's note, extending to four and a half lines, justifying his spelling Dehli in place of Delhi, is omitted.—R.

Europeans in error in their statement that the Gypsies are not known before the raid of Tamerlane, an event on whose exact date authors and historians have disagreed. When later they reached its determination, it [proved to be] 1397, as mentioned above.

I have said that the Arab chroniclers do not add anything to what the Europeans cite. This statement of mine rests upon careful search I have made in *Muğalla-t-Ṭabīb*, *Al-Hilāl*, and *Al-Muktaṭif*.¹ But I asked the venerable Imām and noble Shaikh, Muḥammad Šukri Efendi Al-Alūsī, to tell me what he knew about such subjects in the writings of the Arab chroniclers, and whether the Arabs mention their names when referring to their society. He answered me thus: 'With regard to the *Kāulī* (the name of the Nawar among us) there is a letter which Seyid Ġamāl ad-Dīn, the Afghan, composed, in which he mentioned their circumstances, their place of origin, the difference of opinions about them, and their existence in all parts of the earth, according to what its author told me himself. The letter was not printed during his lifetime, but perhaps it was printed after his death. I shall study this carefully, and if I get knowledge of anything pertaining to your question, I shall send it.' It is well known that Seyid Ġamāl ad-Dīn was a man of the highest learning, and has an established reputation in research of this kind. I have not yet seen, however, what this venerable scholar has written.

3. *Their Original Source*

The learned hold different opinions about the origin and source of this race. Some say their original home is Europe, as some of their names among Europeans indicate. This is a hasty opinion which leads to no result, even if long time is spent upon it. Some maintain that they are of Egyptian origin, a view strongly upheld against the preceding one. Others assert that they are of Persian origin, a view which some of the evidence fits. Others declare that they are Indian, and this is the commonest view. The majority of the proofs produced by historians bear upon it, and many traditions support it; but in our opinion it is not the just and correct view. The Nawar, according to our view, are a mixture of Indians, Persians, Kurds, Turks, and Tatars, to whom there have joined some of the rabble and refuse of the peoples of those

¹ Modern Arabic magazines.—R.

countries; and among them are some Arabs and certain of the other dregs of the populations who from time to time accompanied them or stopped in their country and their abodes.

But how are we to prove this truth? We have no means open to us but an investigation of the ethnic names given them by Oriental lexicographers. Thus language is of great service and importance in such matters, to enable us to attain a knowledge of the origin of nations, peoples, tribes, and families. A good illustration of this is the problems of the origins of the Hindus and the Persians, subjects which have now become established and put on a basis of certainty untouched by suspicion, corruption, or mistake. A scrutiny of the language which they speak among themselves, and a minute examination of the origin of the words current in this dialect, contribute also to this investigation. Therefore let us examine first the Oriental names of this people, the etymological origin of these expressions, and to what sort of root they are traced.

4. *The Names of the Nawar and the History of these Names*

Before we begin the work and dip the pen into the inkstand, we must observe that the names of these peoples vary in the different countries of the West and the East according to the view adopted regarding the country of their origin or their coming, and according to what these people claimed as their original home. Their names also vary in the different times and centuries in which opinions have been held. But our sure guide to this class of wretches lies in questions to them about their peculiar language and evil manners, etc., including the nature of the brand with which they are stigmatised everywhere and always. We began these questions as a general defence of our definition of this people, the definition with which we began this essay. That done, we proceed with our task, with the help of God.

One of the names of the Nawar is *Ġaġar* [Ghajar]. This is the name by which the people of Algiers and Tunis and the tribes of Egypt call them. *Ġaġar* we think a mistake for the Turkish *Cotchar*, that is, the 'travellers' or the 'emigrants.' They are called by this Turkish name to-day in the west of Persia, the east of the Ottoman Empire in Asia, and the land of Mesopotamia. Some say *Cutchar* and *Catchar*; the word is from a Persian root derived from *Cūchīdūn*, that is 'migration,' 'flight,' 'the

emigration,' and the 'departure from their work and their duty.'¹ This word is not used to mean Nawar before the sixteenth century A.D., and the following is its history.

In the time of Shah 'Abbās the Great of the State of Šafariyeh² in the country of Īrān (he died in the year 1621), certain governors ill-treated the Turkmāns, and 'The Band of Fifty Thousand' fled from their fatherland. They came to the aforesaid Shah and asked him for dwellings in his country. The Shah was pleased at this immigration, though alarmed at the greatness of the number that came on him unexpectedly, but, as he thought he might perhaps be strengthened, he assembled the Band one day and made a thorough revision of its leaders, and they acquired a nominal office. But since this Shah was very cunning in his policy, he distributed them in their weaker cities to strengthen them. A company of them he placed in the 'South of the land of Persia,' on the banks of the Euphrates, as a check to the raids of the Arabs; he gave dwellings to a portion of them in Khamseh and Urumia, and placed them as a strong wall in front of enemies. But the greater portion he placed in Māzandarān as a check to the pride of the Uzbek, Turkmāns, Ūmīd, and the nomad Tatārs, who are always starting raids, and acting as highwaymen. Later on they were separated into a special class called *Katchar*, *Ġatchar*, or *Katchar*, all of which are obvious corruptions of the word *Kotchār*. But this last word became in its original form the term for a class of nomads or wanderers who do not belong to these peoples. After the *Ġaġar* became established in the new country in which they dwelt, they branched off into two parts, an eastern and a western. The former was called *Yūḡārī Bās*, that is, 'the Highest,' and the latter *Aśaġī Bās*, that is, 'the Lowest.'

But the greater part of the *Aśaġī Bās* or Western *Ġaġar* became completely mixed with the Persians, adopted their appearance, dress, costumes, and language, and assumed their manners. Some of them travelled far, and came to the east of Turkey, and began to be carried from country to country until the chances of fortune led them to the north of Africa, in the length and breadth of which they settled; and these are they with whom the name *Ġaġar* predominated. But the *Yūḡārī Bās* or Eastern *Ġaġar* took nothing from the Persians but their language, and they still

For *وَدِيدَنِهِمْ* read *وَدِينَهُمْ*.—R. A. S. M.

² For *الصَفْوِيَّة* read *الصَفَرِيَّة*.—R. A. S. M.

preserve their race and their families compact to this day in Māzandarān. They put their property in safety in Astrābād on the river Kāzawīn, and took as their chief city Tāwīn. Their tribes are under the government of a chief whom the Shah appointed for them. The powers of these nomads lasted till one of them was recognised as king; he was founder of the state of Kāgar or Kāgār in Persia, the state which is now called Al-Māska, the weakest of the powers in Īrān. Such then is the origin of the Gāgar and their history in brief, and I gather from my investigations that they belong to the Turkmāns.

Now as to *Nawar*, and its singular *Nūrī*, our view is that it is a corruption of *Lūr*. This corruption seems the best explanation in the singular; the word *Nūrī* is not far remote from *Lūrī*, except the *n*; and the interchange of *n* and *l* in the beginning, middle, and final of words is one of the most familiar features of Arabic. The author of the *Mazhar* has mentioned numerous examples in illustration of this change; among these are *lablabah* and *nabnabah*, *lahazatu* and *nahazatu*, *kallah* and *kannah*, *ḥālik* and *ḥānik*, *hatal* and *hatan*, *haradalah* and *haradanah*. The diffusion of the word *Nawar* took place in the eighth century A.D., when the Arabs gained the mastery over the country of the Lūr or Lūristān (from 652 to 1258). But Arab classical writers do not mention it in their books, for they regarded this expression as a vulgar one, and generally they scorned the use of it except when necessity compelled them. It is known that the Lūr are noted for their thievishness, craft, jugglery, sleight-of-hand, witchcraft, etc., these are some of the blemishes of character ascribed to them by the Arabs, who have a verb *nawwar* derived from 'Nūrī' (corrupted from 'Lūrī'), meaning 'to practise jugglery, deceit, etc.' The first among the Arabs to mention it is Al-Izharī (died 981 A.D.), but he held the opinion that the verb is derived from *nūrah*, and that *nūrah* is 'a witch.' His remark shows this. '*Nūrah*, the word for a witch; from it [comes] the word for one who practises witchcraft: the verb *nawwar* [to play the wizard] and [the verbal noun] *munuwwir* [a wizard], which, however, is not correct Arabic.' The author of the *Tāj* added to this sentence to a different effect: 'It is permissible to derive *Nūrī* from it, which means "the swindler."' It is a word frequent among the common people in the sense "to manage a horse well by one's action, and to set it off in order to gain fraudulent profit." The plural is *Nūwarah*.' Shaikh Ibrahim Al-Yāzīgī has said in a publication

of the year 1884-5, p. 169, after quoting the sentence of the *Tāğ*: 'Further, it is likely that the Nawar are named for two reasons; either this word is used absolutely for the [male] *Nūrī* with the meaning of "swindler," because they practise the art of swindling, or because the [female] *Nūrah* is accused of witchcraft, because witchcraft is also one of their crimes. Perhaps this more nearly expresses the double meaning of the word. Moreover, we may suppose that the word "*nūrī*," meaning "deceit," is derived from them, as the usage of the common people witnesses to this. The plural of *Nūrī* is *Nawarah*, as in the *Tāğ*, or *Nawar*, both forms being recognised indifferently: both these forms (the Shaikh disapproved of the authors of dictionaries employing feminine forms in place of masculines) are synonymous in the plural, just as one may say *ḥadmah* and *ḥadam*, *ḥafadah* and *ḥafad*, which are from a single form.'

Now with regard to the saying of the philologists that *Nūrah* is 'a witch,' it is possible; but they tell us nothing further from which we can learn something of the time, country, or tribal connexions of the woman in question. So the bare statement that *Nūrah* is 'a witch' gives no satisfaction to our curiosity. However, we add this derivation to the threads of fancy which some writers weave regarding such matters, as it is really a genuine attempt at a knowledge of the unknown and at a solution of the knot. Both forms, *Nawarah* and *Nawar*, for the plural of *Nūrī* are anomalous. The correct form would be *Nūr*, with no vowel after the final consonant, as in *Rūm*, plural of *Rūmī*. This, however, is rarely used, to avoid confusion with the word *nūr* ('light'). This at least is our opinion; the reader may choose whichever view he prefers. It follows that the Nawar are radically 'Lūrī,' that is, of the race of the Kurds.¹

The people of Aleppo call the Nawar *Kārbāt*, singular *Karbātī*. The word is a contraction and corruption for *Ġarbādakān* or *Garbādakān*, a district near Hamadān, in the outskirts of which vile and worthless men are numerous. Nādir Shah in the year 1738 A.D. ordered their expulsion, so they left these parts and went to the territory of the Sublime Porte, till their journeys ended in the district of Aleppo Aš-Šahabā'. But some of them returned to their country, and they continue there to this day. According to this the *Kārbāt* are of Persian origin, or likely

¹ On the names *Nawar* and *Nūrī*, see also De Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Migrations des Tsiganes à travers l'Asie*, pp. 63-4. —R.

to be Persian, for the regions outside are not known to be their origin.

In the outskirts of Moṣul and part of the neighbourhood of Baghdād they are given the name *Ḳaratch*. They are a section of the Nawar pre-eminent for the violence of their covetousness, greed, and theft. They maintain that they are of the *Ḳurāṣīn*, as it is a mark of every ignoble outsider that he claims descent from the noblest tribe, clan, or people, that his race may be ennobled. But the truth is that they are from Karatch. Yāḳūt says, in the *List of Cities*: 'Karatch, a town between Hamadān and Ispahān.' In its suburbs, as in those of the large Persian towns, there is a community of wretches of a kind of Nawar. There is no doubt that they are of the same origin, and that they belong to them (the Nawar). As to the time of the migration of the *Ḳaratch* from their original fatherland, we have no information. On the whole, the *Ḳaratch* are of Persian origin or likely to be Persian, that is, let us say, Kurdish.¹

In the vilayet of Moṣul a Nūrī is called *Muṭribah*. The derivation of this Arabic name, and the origin and cause of its being used, need no explanation [مُطْرِبٌ 'a musician.'—Golius, *Lex. Arab.*].

In part of Syria and Mesopotamia they are called *Ġu'aidīyah*, singular *Ġu'aidī*. This name signifies that they are of Arab origin or that they were connected with an Arab called Ġu'aid, whom they chose as a chief. We read in *Moh̄it al-Moh̄it*: 'Al-Ġu'aidī, "the stingy"; one of the vulgar herd, of a relationship with Ġu'aid, or else ignorant. It is said that this Ġu'aid was an Egyptian who wandered among the people, dressed in a cap with bells on it, and with a tambourine in his hand, on which he beat, and when asked for them he pronounced extempore panegyrics. In this occupation he had a crowd of imitators who were known as *Ġu'aidīyah* (related to Ġu'aid). This relationship among the lower classes only means resemblance to the *Ġu'aidī*.' In my opinion most of what we see among the Nawar in the neighbourhood of Baghdād resemble these *Ġu'aidīyah*, following them in freedom and looseness, and their habits of the dance, music, and the extemporising of songs.

¹ Yāḳūt indicates in the *List* that there exist people of this kind in other parts of Persia. He says (vol. iii. p. 838), 'And about Persia are Kurdish tribes, amounting to over 500,000 tents, seeking pasture in winter and summer after the manner of the Bedawīn.'

In Baghdād and the greater part of 'Irāk and Mesopotamia, the Arabs do not know the Nawar except by the name of *Kāulīyah*, *Kuwalīyah*, or *Kūlī*, singulars *Kāulī*, *Kuwalī*, or *Kūlī*.¹ In my opinion these are derived from *Kūwal*. We read in the *Tāǧ*: 'Kūwal (the learned write *Kūwar* with final *r*, and it is thus in the *Books of the Lineages*): a district in Persia, between which and the Gulf are ten parasangs; not an encampment at Shirāz as Aṣ-Ṣāḡānī supposed. It is likely that this encampment is attributed to the people of this quarter from their stopping at it.' Therefore these are of Persian extraction, as we showed in similar passages on a previous page. Unless, indeed, it is said that the *Kāulīyah* are connected with *Kauī* in Turkey, for the word is Turkish and means 'village': from this it would follow that the 'villagers,' because of their settling in the outskirts of great cities or in the villages near them, were then said to be of a stock that lives in Turkey. It is possible that they are of Turkish origin or otherwise. Or it may be claimed that the word is a corruption of *Kūl*, a tribe of people to which we have some historical references. Yāqūt says in the description of Mūltān: 'Chroniclers tell that the *Kūl*, who are heretics, unbelievers of that district (the district of Mūltān in India), captured certain women of the Muslims, and one of the women cried out "O my Ḥaǧǧāǧ!" And he heard it and sent to Dāhir, king of Daibul, bidding him attack those who had captured the women. But he swore that he would not obey him in the matter of those who had captured them. So he asked permission from 'Abdu'l-Mālik to make a raid, but he did not give him it. But when Al-Walīd was in power he asked *him* for permission, and he granted it and sent for the purpose Muḥammad ibnu 'l-Kāsim ibn Abu 'Aḳil, his cousin, who slew Dāhir and captured Mūltān from India.'

In the *Conquests of Countries* of Balāduri (p. 430) there is a different story. He says: 'The king of the island of Yāqūt sent to Al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ Muslim women born in his country, whose fathers, merchants, had died, and he desired intercourse with them. But the *Kūl*, who are a company of *Meid*² of Daibul, appeared in barges before the ship in which they were, and they took the ship and its load, and one of the women (and she was of the *Benu Yarbū'*) cried "O Ḥaǧǧāǧ!" Al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ heard it and he said: "At thy service!" So he sent to Dāhir, asking him for the release of the women, and

¹ See De Goeje, *Mémoire*, p. 65.—R.

² For the *Meid* or *Meds* see MacRitchie, *Gypsies of India*, pp. 63-6.—R.

his reply was, "Thieves over whom I have no power took them." Then Al-Haġġāġ sent 'Ubaid Ullah ibn Nabhān to raid Daibul, but he was slain. Then he wrote to Budail ibn Ṭahfah Al-Baġlī, who was in 'Omān, bidding him go against Daibul. When he met them, his horse broke loose from him, so the enemies got near and slew him. Some say a Zuṭṭ unexpectedly slew him.'

This implies that the *Kūl* or *Kūliyah* are of Indian origin, which is the opinion I consider carries most weight. Or perhaps *Kāuliyah* is a corruption of *Kū'hliyah*, a derivative from Turkish¹ 'Kūh,' that is 'mountain,' so that the meaning of *Kāuliyah* would be 'mountaineers'; or perhaps it is a corruption of *Kahluwiyah*, which is one of the villages of Saudūd or Sardrūd. This is called by erroneous names, another of which is *Kilūwiyah*. They originate in the true name of the village *Kūh-i-Kahlūwīyah*.

The Damascenes and some of the people of Baṣra call the Nawar *Zuṭṭ*, singular *Zuṭṭī*. This name also is not unknown in Baghdād with the meaning *Nawar* and *Nūrī*. In the *Tāj* we read: 'Az-Zuṭṭ: a tribe of men as in the *Ṣiḥāḥ*. They are mentioned by Al-Buhārī in his description of Moses (upon whom be peace), "as though he was one of the Zuṭṭ." There are various views about them, some saying they are *Sayābiġa*, a people of Sind in Baṣra. The Kāḍī 'Iyād said: "They are a race of blacks of tall stature," which one reads also in the *Tawaṣiḥ* of Ġalāl-ad-Dīn, who adds "and emaciated." Al-Azhari has quoted from Al-Laith: "They are a people of India, who have given their name to garments called *Zuṭṭīyah*," and he adds that their name is arabicised from the Indian *Jatt*. Aṣ-Ṣaġānī says: "Al-Laith does not say this in his book, but in Indian *Jatt* is the correct form, and so it is spelt in a copy which Al-Azhari corrected, and in it he has written it with *ā* following the *J* [= *Ġ*]." On this analogy the arabicised form should also be spelt with *a*. In the *Ṣiḥāḥ* the singular is *Zuṭṭī*; compare *Rūm* and *Rūmī*, *Zanġ* and *Zanġī*. Ibn Duraid says: "The Zuṭṭ: this is a tribe which is not pure Arab. The Arabs use the word, as in this verse:

We came with the two tribes of Wail and their host,
Tamīm came and their Zuṭṭ and the Asāwir."

Abū 'n-Naġm says:

"A slave-girl, one of the daughters of the Zuṭṭ,
Owner of low-lying hidden waste land."

¹ In the original 'Turkish,' but read 'Persian.'—R. A. S. M.

Hālid ibn 'Abdullah had given Abū 'n-Naǧm a slave-girl from among the Indian captives, and he composed about her a poem in the metre *reǧez*, of which the first verse is

“ I have taken a girl of the daughters of the Zutt.”

These are the words of the *Tāǧ*.

In the *Mohīt al-Mohīt* occurs the passage: ‘Zutt, a race from India, arabicised from *Jatt*. The garments called *az-zuttīyah* are named after them. The singular is Zuttī. These are the people known in Syria as Nawar; some call them *Mutribīyah* [musicians], as their employment is playing drums and flutes and dancing. They are used for expressing contempt (that is, their name is the word with which one expresses contempt): people say “ You Zuttī, that is, you vile, base fellow.”’

The historical references to them are perfectly familiar. They came from India before Islam, for they were numerous at the time of its appearance. Balāduri says in his *Conquests of Countries* (p. 162): ‘Mo’awia in the year 49 or 50 A.H. (i.e. 669 or 670 A.D.) removed to the coasts a race of Zutt of Baṣra and Sayābigah and settled some of them at Antioch. Abu Ḥafaṣ says: “ In Antioch is a quarter known as that of the Zutt, and in Bukā in the province of Antioch is a race of their descendants known as Zutt.” Wālid ibn ‘Abdu ‘l-Malik transferred to Antioch a number of the Zutt of Sind from those whom Muḥammad ibnu ‘l-Kāsim carried to Al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ, and Al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ sent them to Syria.’ He says further (p. 171): ‘Mu’tasim bi’llah transferred to ‘Ain Zarba and its neighbourhood people of the Zutt who had seized upon the marsh-lands (Al-Biṭa’ih) between Wāsiṭ and Baṣra, so its people made use of them.’ The author has made a complete and definite statement on pp. 372 ff. We quote from him what is necessary here, literally, as follows. ‘Abu ‘l-Ḥasan al-Mudā’nī says: “ The Uswārī desired Śirawaihu to take the field against Bekr ibn Wa’il with Hālid ibnu ‘l-Mu’ammār and the Benu Sadūs, but he refused that proposal. They took the field against the Benu Tamīm, and the Azdu were not at that time in Baṣra nor was ‘Abdu-Śams. So the Sayābiga joined the Usāwari who were on the coasts before [the time of] Islam, and the Zutt likewise in the districts which they guarded carefully. When the Usāwari, Zutt, and Sayābiga had assembled, the Benu Tamīm contended with them, and they longed for them; so the Usāwari inclined towards the Benu Sa’ad, the Zutt and the Sayābiga to the Benu Ḥanzalah.

So they stayed with them, fighting the heathen. They went out with Ibn 'Amr to Horāsān, nor did they see with them camels and booty nor anything of their warriors till it was an auspicious day. Then after an auspicious day they saw Ar-Rabdah and Amr ibnu 'l-Aṣ'at with him. Al-Ḥaġġāġ injured them, pulled down their houses, lowered their pay, and transported some of them and said: 'It was in your contract that you should not take sides with one party of us against others.' . . . But the Sayābigā, Zutt, and Andagār were in the army of Persia with those who captured him, and they assigned to him some of the people of Sind and those who were prisoners from the first raid. When they heard what was the intention of the Usāwarah, they became Muslims and came to Abū Mūsā, who settled them in Baṣra as he had settled the Usāwarah. Rauḥ ibn 'Abdu 'l-Mu'min told me, saying: Ya'kūb ibnu 'l-Ḥadrami, on whom be peace, told me, saying: 'Al-Ḥaġġāġ brought a crowd of the Zutt of Sind, and a number of other people with them, their families, children, and buffaloes and settled them in the lower parts of Kaskar.' " Rauḥ adds: 'They conquered the marsh-lands and multiplied in them. Then there joined them a company of slave-adventurers and allies, with the household and servants of Muḥammad ibn Sulaimān ibn 'Alī, and others. So they encouraged them to highway robbery and rebellion against the Government. Their nature before this was to beg for trifles and obtain a choice part from the shipmen, so they take from it what is possible to carry away. But during the days of Māmūn, men hovered about the passes and cut off from Baghdād all that was being carried to it in ships from Baṣra. But when al-Motaṣim bi'llah became Caliph, he turned his attention to them and set over their troops a man of Horāsān, called 'Uġeif ibn 'Anbasah, and gave him a company of the best horses and troops, denying him nothing he asked from the Treasury. So he set [messengers on] lean, docked horses between the plains and Medinet es-Salām [Baghdād], and news of the Zutt came to Medinet es-Salām at all hours of the day or night. He gave orders to 'Uġeif, so he with great trouble cut them off from water till they were captured, and not one of them escaped. He proceeded with them to Medinet es-Salām in Zuwāraḥ, and placed some of them in Haniḳain, and divided the rest of them between 'Ain Zarbah and Tuġūr.

'It is said that a company of Siyābigah were entrusted with the public treasury of Baṣra. Some say that they were forty, some that they were four hundred. So when Ṭalhah ibn 'Ubaid

Ullah and Zubeir ibn al-'Awwām reached Baṣra (now 'Uṭmān ibn Ḥunaif the Ansary was over it before 'Alī ibn Ṭālib), they refused to deliver the treasury to the chiefs of 'Alī (may God be gracious to him), so they came against them at daybreak and slew them. 'Abd Ullah ibn Zubeir was entrusted with their affair in an assembly to which they hastened with him, and at that time Abū Sālmeh the Zuṭṭī was over the Sayābiḡah, and he was an honest man. Mo'awi had unrighteously removed leaders of the Zuṭṭ and the Sayābiḡah to the sea-coast of Syria and Antioch, and Walīd ibn 'Abdu 'l-Malik had transported a company of the Zuṭṭ to Antioch and its districts.

'Ubeid Ullah ibn Ziyād captured a number of the people of Buḥāra, and it is said that they settled under his jurisdiction. It is said he urged them to loyalty and divine precepts, so they settled after that and were diligent in it. So he settled them in Baṣra, and when Al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ built the city of Wāsiṭ, he settled many of them in it, and of their posterity there is a number there to this day. Ḥālīd the ingenious (known as Ibn Mārḡālī) says: "The Andaḡār are from the district of Karmān, adjacent to Saḡistān."

Ibn Ḥaldūn says: 'The Zuṭṭ are a mixture of peoples. (This in my opinion is the true view.) They predominated in the Baṣra road and did mischief in it. They stirred the country to discord and placed over them a man, by name Muḥammad ibn 'Uṭmān, and by his order there arose another of them by name Summāk. Motaṣim sent 'Uḡaif ibn 'Anbasa to war with them. He went to Wāsiṭ, fought with them, killed three hundred of them in a battle, and captured five hundred. Then he slew them and sent their heads to the court of Al-Motaṣim. He rose and besieged them for seven months. Then they surrendered to him and went in their totality, twenty-seven thousand of them, twelve thousand being fighting men. 'Uḡaif marshalled them in ships in their war-array, and entered Baghdād with them. Al-Motaṣim sailed to Aś-Samāsa to see them. Then he removed them to 'Ain Zarba, and the Byzantines came against them, and not one of them escaped.'

Ibn al-Aṭir has mentioned (vol. ii. p. 142), in the events of the ninth year of the Hegira (which is the year 630 A.D.), the apostasy of the people of Baḥrein; and one of the matters he there mentions is, that the Zuṭṭ and the Sayābiḡa were from the district of the land of Baḥrein, and in the year 205 Al-Māmūn put 'Isa ibn

Yazīd al-Ġalūdi in charge of their warriors, and in the year 206 Dāūd ibn Māshūr. He mentions 'Uḡaif's war with them in the year 219, and that the raid of Byzantium against them was in the year 241. They took their women, their families, and their beasts of burden, and the whole of them were in the country of Dailam and were joined to Ibn Baḥtiyār in the year 390. We find no further mention of them in his book.¹

This is the main part of what occurs in the books of the Arab historians about the Zutt, and we are content with what is here presented, because the statements of those who come after these great historians do not add anything. We have now given the substance of their words.

Some form the plural word Zutt, which is pronounced Jat, in the Persian fashion, that is, with final *-ān*, and so say *Jittān*. From this word is derived the Spanish *gitano*, meaning Gypsy, and there is no doubt the Spaniards took this word from the Arabs of Andalusia.

The names of the Gypsies in Persia vary in the different parts of the country. In the north they are called *Sāhsawan*. Every year at the beginning of autumn they go to their winter-quarters behind the Aras river [Araxes] in the land of Russia, and, when the winter has gone, they return to their spring-quarters in Persia. The word is derived from *Šāhain*, the ancient name of Zanjān.

In the heart of Iran their name is *Fuyūḡ* (in Arabic style) or *Fāyḡān* (in Persian style), and the singular of these is *Faij*. The word is taken from Fāyḡān, a village in Ispahān, most of whose inhabitants are given to travelling to and fro.

In the neighbourhood of Adarbaigān they are called *Tāt*, and the following is the origin of this word. In the mountain Usky, one of the mountains of the said province, is a tribe of men known by this name. Some of them are settled and some of them are nomad. The settled ones scarcely ever move from their home, but the nomads never cease rambling and wandering band by band far and wide in the whole of Persia. They have no religion, culture, knowledge, or morals, which means that they are a useless unbridled rabble. Their only craft is the making of sieves and riddles, and families send out their children to dance, sing, and play music, and for immoral purposes. They yield up their women for evil-doing to seek the means to live. (Of these are some who

¹ See also MacRitchie, *Gypsies of India*, pp. 18-30; and De Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Migrations des Tsiganes à travers l'Asie*, pp. 20-31.—R.

go to Turkey for this purpose, so they are counted as separated from their tribe, and are then called *Dal-i-Dūmān*.) Some of them have entered into the service of Persian tribes at various times; they resemble their original race, except that they are unlucky in the circumstances of serfdom and slavery. They are not able to drop their own name, whatever they do or say.

Tribes of them wander about in Persia, and, learning there the principles of trade, engage in selling and peddling everywhere. There are many who abuse their race, or deny it, or conceal their employments from the public, and give the lie to those who divulge their tribe. Their tongue is peculiar to them; there is none understands it, except they are of their race. The chronicles of Persia speak plainly about the existence of this low tribe from the time of the raid of the Tatars. The word *Tāt*, in my opinion, is abbreviated from *Tātār* itself, which means that the Tatars do not call themselves anything but Turks, disowning the nickname *Tatar*, because of the accusations of badness, roughness, coarseness, and ruffianliness which are inseparable therefrom. To get rid of the disgrace of this name, they branded with it the nomads existing in the countries which they subdued in their first conquests, and this meaning remains fixed even to this day in the expression above mentioned. The Tatars continue to be called Turks, yet the Persians continue to call them *Tāt* in many districts of the land of Iran.

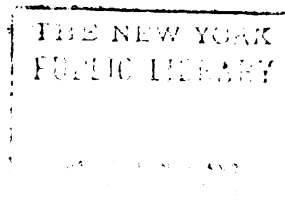
The name of the Nawar in the country of Karmān is *Kufsu* or *Kufṣu*. The Arabs of old knew them by this name, which is still well known in that country. We read in the *Tāǧ*, *sub voce kfs*:¹ 'al-Kufsu, a tribe in Karmān, [living] like the Kurds in its mountains, and witness [the verse]:

"How many we suppressed of turbulent foes, Zutt, Kurds, and Kufsu."

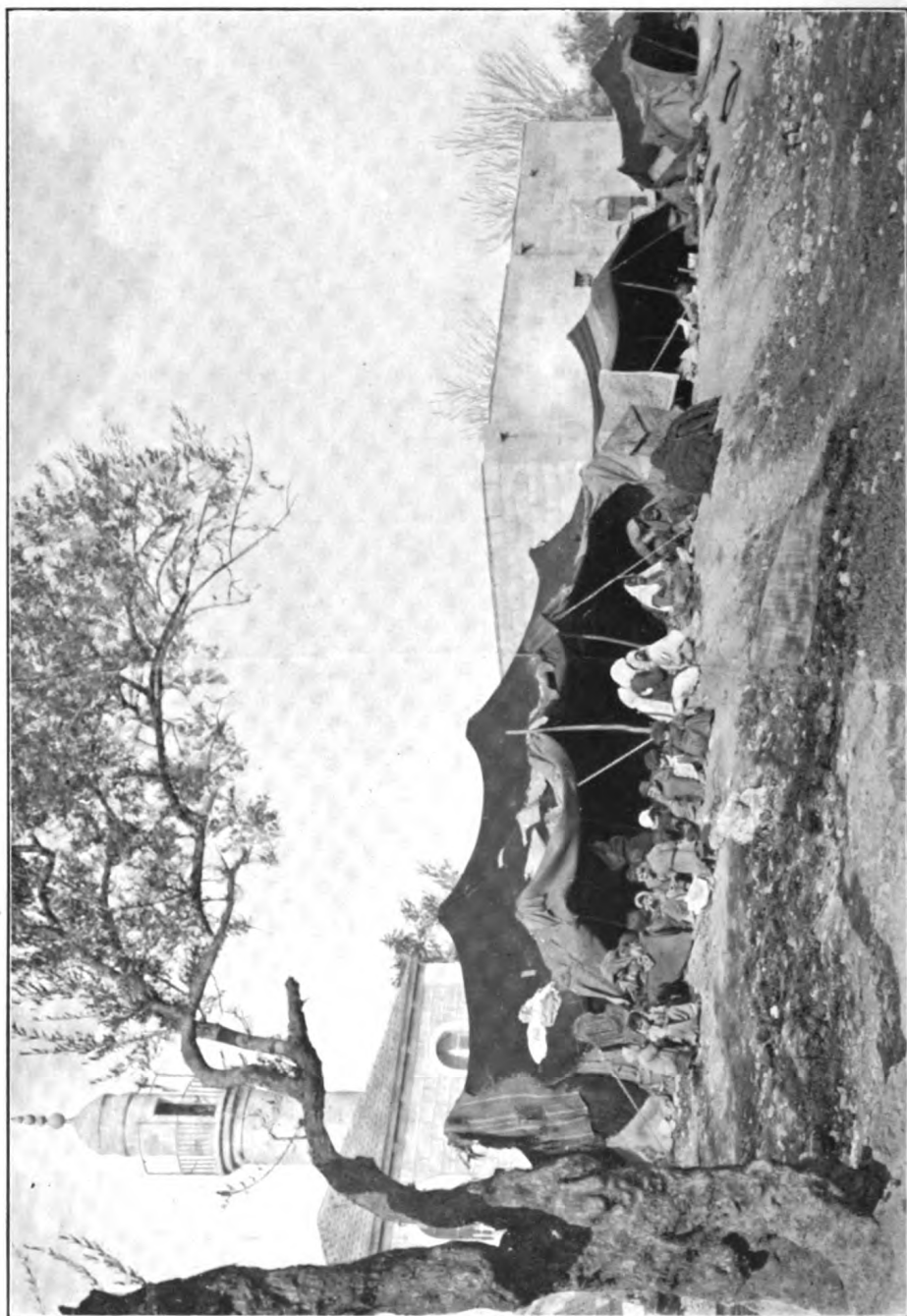
It is also written *Kufṣu*. We find *sub voce kfs*: 'al-Kufṣu, a mountain (*ǧabal*) in Karmān.' So likewise in all the copies (*i.e.* the copies of the *Kāmūs* of Firūzābādī); but it ought to be 'a tribe (*ǧīl*).'² In *Al-'Ubāb*, Ibn Duraid says: *al-Kufṣu*, a tribe known to inhabit one of the mountains of Karmān, in reference to which it is called *ǧabal-al-Kufṣ*. Others say that the Arabic form

¹ In Arabic dictionaries, both native and foreign, words are catalogued not in strict alphabetical order, but under the roots of three consonants from which, as in all Semitic languages, the words are derived.—R. A. S. M.

² The difference lies in the vocalisation (the signs for which are usually omitted) and a single dot—*جبل* mountain and *جيل* tribe.—R. A. S. M.



P



NURI TENT AT THE CAMP TO THE NORTH OF THE DAMASCUS GATE, JERUSALEM

is *Kufğ* or *Kūfğ*. In the *Tahdīb* we have: 'al-Ḳuḡṣ, a tribe infesting the neighbourhood of Karmān, men of strength in war.'

I wrote to one of my friends in Karmān, asking him to describe to me the condition of the Ḳuḡṣ or Ḳuḡṣ existing to-day in his district. He wrote me a letter, the whole of which is useful. His description coincides to a remarkable degree with that of Yāḳūt al-Hamwī, as if Yāḳūt witnessed events of the past and registered them in the present in his book. For this reason the sentence of Yāḳūt is quoted here, that my reader may verify the fact that the customs and habits in the East know no change, and that what the author of the *List of Countries* wrote is a fountain of truth. This is a quotation of his words, which, even if it is long, will not weary the reader, because of the advantage he gains. He says: 'Al-Ḳuḡṣ is a tribe in the mountains of Karmān like the Kurds; they are called *Kuḡṣ* and *Balūṣu*. . . . Ar-Ruhni says: Al-Ḳuḡṣ is one of the mountains of Karmān in the part adjacent to the sea. Its inhabitants are descendants of Al-Yamāniyah, of Al-Azd ibn al-Ḳāṭ, of the children of Selimah ibn Mālik ibn Faham. And his children were not, in the Arabian Peninsula, subject to the religion of the Arabs who acknowledged Paradise and confessed the Resurrection; nor were they among those whose religion consisted in the service of the idols which they worshipped, both wood and stone. They afterwards migrated to the worship of the sun and moon [*i.e.* to the country where the sun and moon are worshipped], but they did not worship with them [the sun-worshippers] or in their dominions. Then Karmān was conquered in the time of Uṭmān ibn 'Uffān (God be pleased with him); and from that time to this, there does not appear for one of them that which affirms of them the name of a religious sect and belief, nor the name of a compact or promise. In their mountains, which are their abode, there is neither house of fire, synagogue of Jews, church of Christians, nor mosque of Muslims, except perhaps what Al-Ḡuzāh built for them in their mountains. He told me he cast out of their mountains many idols, a thing which I have not verified. Ar-Ruhni says: I have found compassion in mankind, and that human races vary in it, but there is not one of them who alters with regard to it in any respect. It is a product of the laws by which men are distinguished from all the animals, like reason and speech, which have been made the cause for the commands and prohibitions [to which mankind is subject]. Verily compassion is born of a heart which is compassionate, and therefore, like

laughter, this quality, inborn in man, is essential. But the *Ḳuḥṣ* have neither little nor much of it, and were we on that account to consider them as outside the pale of humanity, it would be permissible to do so. . . .'

Yāḳūt continues: 'The children of Ibn Mālīk ibn Fahar were eight: Rāhīd, al-Ḥumām, al-Hunā'ah, Nūa, Ḥārīt, Ma'an, Selīmah, sons of Mālīk ibn Faham ibn Ġanam ibn Daus ibn 'Uḏṭan ibn 'Abd Ullah ibn Zaharān ibn Ka'b ibn al-Ḥārīt ibn Ka'b ibn 'Abd Ullah ibn Mālīk ibn Naṣar ibn al-Azd.

'The rebellious one of the children of 'Amr ibn Omar at Wady Saba was grandfather of the *Ḳuḥṣ*, that is, Selīmah ibn Mālīk, he who slew his father Mālīk ibn Faham. He fled from his brothers with his children and his people, from the coast of Arabia to the coast of Persia, from the neighbourhood of Mukrān and al-Ḳāṭan onward in those mountains.

'Ar-Ruhnī said: "In referring to these matters, we have quoted what explains about the *Ḳuḥṣ* to show that they neither have a portion in Paganism, nor is Islam a worship they trust in. That people may know that they are of this character, they honour specially among all men 'Alī ibn Abū Ṭālib (mercy on him), not for the bond of religion, but for the command of the victory over their religion from the greatness of his power, and their rejoicing in his character."

'Al-Baṣārī says: "An-Nahāfah and as-Samara and Timām al-Ḥalka maintain strongly that the *Ḳuḥṣ* are Arabs. They are mischief-makers in the land. Between the districts of the Persians is a desert and mountains, in which there is neither flowing river, nor palace, nor famous city. Vile people dwell in it. It is difficult to travel in; but there are roads in it from one side to the other. Therefore many tanks and cisterns have been made in it [extending] from Ḥorasān, and some of them from Karmān and Persia, the mountains, Sind, and Saḡistān." The vile people in it are many, for when they are suddenly intercepted in their work, they escape elsewhere, and lie hid in Karkas Kūh and Siyah Kūh. It is impossible [to proceed] against them, and in it there are no cities known except Safunad. . . . We went out from Ṭabas to forage Persia, and we stayed in it seventy days, turning from one quarter to another. Once we came upon the road of Karmān, and again we were near Ispahān, and I saw among the roads and places of ascent some that I knew not. In these mountains are cold and hot regions and palms and

standing corn. I saw that its easiest and most inhabited part was the way of Alray, its most difficult the way of Fars, and its nearest the way of Karmān. The whole of it is terrible from people called al-Ḳuḡḡ, who come down on it from their mountains in Karmān. They are a folk with no civilisation; their faces are savage, their hearts are hard, and they have courage and endurance. They have no pity on any one, nor are they contented with the taking of property without slaying its owner. Every one they get hold of they kill with stones as serpents are killed. They take hold of the man's head, place it on a flagstone and beat it with stones till it is smashed. I asked them "Why do you do this?" They answered "That our swords may not be rotted." So no one escapes, except rarely. They have hiding-places and mountains which are inaccessible, and they fight with arrows and have swords.

'The *Bulūḡ* were worse than they are, and 'Aḍad ad-Daulah harried them till he destroyed them. He went against these also, killed many of them, scattered them, and while he ruled over Persia, never ceased demanding hostages from them wherever he went. For hunger and thirst they are the most patient of God's creation, and generally what they take of the fruit of the *sidr* suffices them; they make it like walnuts, on which they feed. They reject Islam and are more violent against the Muslims than the Greeks and the Turks. Among their customs is one, that when they capture a man, they carry him with them for a course of twenty parasangs, barefooted and fasting. They are thus pedestrians, and have no desire for beasts of burden and riding-camels. But often they ride the *ḡammāzāt* (a kind of camel caravan).'

Yāḡūt says also under the head *Ḳuḡḡ* (which he rejects): 'Al-Ḳuḡḡ . . . a form of Al-Ḳuḡḡ, mentioned before. Abu'l Ṭaiyib says:

"He drank of the gourds of death and the red wine
When he broke the *Ḳuḡḡ*, yesterday gone by."

'Aḍad ad-Daulah had raided the people of Ḳuḡḡ and wounded them; not one of them was free from wounds, and many of them were destroyed.'

Mention of the Ḳuḡḡ and the Bulūḡ occurs in the *Kāmil* of Ibn-al-Aṭīr in his account of the rebellion of the people of Karmān against 'Aḍad ad-Daulah in the year 360 (vol. viii. p. 202). Other

historians also mention them, but in their writings there is nothing additional to what we have mentioned.

The people of Ġulfā and Ispahān and their districts call the Gypsies *Kantchu*. The Armenian word *kanču* is taken from *Kantchah*. Yāqūt says: 'Kantchah: one of the districts of Lūristān between Ĥorasān and Ispahān,' and according to him the *Kantchu* are from the Lūri stock. In these countries they have a second name, which is *Posha*, also Armenian in origin, that is, Armenian *Posai*, derived from Pūšang, Pūšang, or Fūsang. The learned say Pūšān. The Armenians regard the final *ān* as the ordinary Persian plural termination, and in the singular they say 'Poša.' According to this the origin of these people is Persian; for, according to what the author of the *Murāṣid* says, 'Pūšank is a little country, between which and Hirat are ten parasangs in a wādy full of trees and fruits; most of the cucumbers of Hirat are brought from it.'

In the west of Persia, in the districts bordering on the Turkish Empire, the name of the Gypsies varies between *Zōzan*, *Sōzan*, *Zayzān*, *Sayzān*, *Sōsān*, *Saysān*, and *Sasān*, which are erroneous renderings of *Sāsāniyah* or *Beni Sāsān*. This is the name of the Gypsies among the present day Arabs according to what is published in their books and histories; moreover, it is their real name, which includes all the tribes of the Gypsies in their classes, families, and divisions. This is the name by which books and literary men ought to call them. There is no need of proofs that the *Beni Sāsān* are Gypsies, by the look of them. This is the true statement, clear as the sun in broad daylight. But everything exaggerated and opposed to the truth is consented to, unless there come suddenly upon it some light from witnesses and the texts of the chief writers.

The *Beni Sāsān* embrace other peoples and gather all of them together in one group. Abū Dulaf has mentioned the best known of these tribes in the poem of the *Sāsāniya*. He says:

'From us are the Kābūli and whoever plays with the basket,
Whoever walks on the rope, and whoever brings up the pulleys.
From us are the Zangū and the Zutt, like the dusky Kabbāga,
And the owners of the coats of mail, the patient Tamūl.'

Kābūliyūn: related to Kābul, which is a well-known land between India and the district of Sāgistān. The *Zangū* here are those from Zangān, as is shown from what precedes. Of the *Zutt*

mention has been made. The *Kabbāga*: the brigands, derived from a word *kabağa* which means 'to steal.' The owners of the coats of mail: a people who betake themselves to mosques, wearing patched garments like coats of mail, one over another. They are called Tamūl. Their origin I believe to be from the Tamūl in India, and their number to-day reaches twelve million.

Let this suffice; further investigation of the subject is profitless. With regard to the reason of their being called *Beni Sāsān*, views differ. We read in the *Tāj*: '*As-Sāsāniya*: a tribe of Persia, derived from a king of theirs called Sāsān.' *As-Sārīsī* says: 'He was the first who made laws about beggary [*kudya*; in the printed original it is *kuḍba*, which is a printer's error], so they are traced to him as the *Ṭufaili* are traced to *Ṭufail*, the first who *taṭaffala*, i.e. came unasked to banquets.'

The Shaikh Muhammad 'Abdu says in the explanation of the *Maḳāmāt* of Al-Badī' (p. 89): 'The *Beni Sāsān* are importunate mendicants and beggars. It is said that Sāsān was a poor man, an expert mendicant and very cunning beggar. He was the father of all money-grubbers. In my opinion "*Sāsāniyah*" and "*Beni Sāsān*" and the like are derived from expressions showing the contempt for Sāsān, and implying that he was ancestor or shaikh of the dregs of society. They came after the decline of the Sāsānian power over the Persians, the founder of which was Irdaśīr Bābek. So when Islam abolished them, and single individuals of their nobility remained in beggary, the boys of the earliest Muslims used to chivy them hither and thither, and, misusing the language, used the title of their fathers as a term of abuse. Thus their descent from Sāsān, once a mark of nobility and noble descent, became one of reviling and cursing. In the contemptuous fame attached to this name there was an end of honourable authority, and an elevation of the conqueror's person by the humiliation of the conquered. This is why nothing remains of the Sāsānian government, whether mention by the tongue, or a sign in the darkness drawn over its dominion, or an elevation of its dignity: when the mind recalls its affairs, it is only in connexion with its new implication, namely baseness and weakness. Then in the lapse of time it was forgotten, but the expression was preserved second-hand in the meaning "beggars," who are the lowest class of men.

'I heard somewhere an insult at which I wondered on first hearing it, and then I investigated its cause. This was a man who

had seen something in his son, and was exhorting him to get rid of it; and the ultimate limit of his abuse, said in the heat of his rage, was "Thou *Barmakī*!" I knew that the dynasty of the 'Abbāsiyīn, after they had cast out the Barāmakah, made their title a disgrace to whoever was connected with it; it has remained so till this day in the speech of some of the Egyptian villages. But for the Barāmakah, "guards and helpers" have preserved their reputation fresh in books, till Time should will that it be recollected (*lit.* remain): while as for the Sāsānians, after the strengthening of Islam in Persia, they had neither "guard nor helper."

This interpretation is farfetched in its construction, unique in its explanation, and it does not supersede the other interpretations given by scholars. The following occurs in the *Kāmīl* of Ibnu 'l-Aṭīr (vol. i. p. 95): 'When Sāsān ibn Bahman saw the doings of his father (that is, that he had guaranteed the crown to Dārā while he was still unborn), he retired to the rocky places, devoted himself to abstinence, climbed to the mountain tops, took him sheep, and was watching them by himself. The people thought him an ascetic.' It may be that those who liked mendicancy and beggary, which is a sort of asceticism (if it be called 'asceticism' in some language or other), boasted regarding their condition that Sāsān ibn Bahman had preceded them in this sort of life, and that as in their state they follow his example, needs must that they derive themselves from him. Perhaps the first 'Beni Sāsān' who adopted begging as a profession, were then desirous of urging men to generosity and gifts, and were trying to win their hearts towards them in giving, by saying 'We are of the children of Sāsān, or of his followers, or of those neighbouring on his rank.' Then when begging in the name of Sāsān became frequent, and the hearing of it deafened the ears, this name became one of the most tedious of names for hearers, and was converted to a title of vice after it had been a title of honour. Or perhaps the Beni Sāsān lived in the encampment which was by Merv, and there was an exit from it by the way of Fīrauzīyah (Yāḳūt). When their name met that of the Sāsānian Chosroeses, they gave out that they were of their root and lineage. Perhaps the expression bears yet another explanation. God knows best what is right!

The conclusion of the whole matter regarding the origin of this race is, that they are a mixture of widely scattered nations and peoples, and of their refuse, scum, dregs, and rabble; and that the

first tribe in which were produced these mean people was Indian, according to what was previously said about the *Zuṭṭ* and the *Kūl*. These two divisions claim the first mention. But others, besides those we have mentioned, joined these low people, such as the Andigār, and the Sabābigā likewise, as is clear from the discourse of Baladūri, of Ibn Atīr, and of other historians. We have set aside all mention of the other names of the Gypsies among the Arabs, such as are found in common current speech; as for example, *Ṣa'ālīk* (beggars), *Beni Ġabrā* (sons of the dust), *Ḍū'bān* (fools), *Duġġār* (contemptible), *Du'ār* (lewd), *Du'ār* (frighteners), *Mudā'ir* (vile), and the rest of such synonymous words.

The division of the *Lūri* preceded these two divisions; and, according to what was said before, they were from the Hindus. They emigrated from their fatherland and came to the land of Persia in the time of Yazdagard the king. There they stayed and became dispersed in the country which has been known thenceforward by their name, that is, by the name *Lūristān*, or 'land of the Lūri,' and according to it, the Gypsies are known in history from the end of the fourth century A.D.

Finally, for convenience, we shall mention the names of the Nawar among Europeans, according as they imagined their origin, pictured their source, or held opinion as to the particular country whence they came. With the French their name is *Bohémiens*; among the English *Egyptians* (*Gypsies*); among the Swedes and Danes, *Tatār*; among the Germans, *Zigeuner* or *Ziganes*; among the Italians and the Turks, *Zingari*; and among the Russians, *Zigani*. But they call themselves by different names, which vary with the different countries in which they settle. Often they call themselves *Farā'na* [Pharaohs], *Sindīyin*, or *Zincali*. This last word is said to be ancient Indian, and to mean 'Blacks of India.' But God knows best!

(To be continued)

NOTES AND QUERIES

22.—'GYPHTOKASTRON' IN GREECE AND ASIA MINOR

From 'the frequency of ruins called *Gyphtokastron* ("Gypsy fortress")' in the Peloponnesus, Hopf infers that Gypsies must have been early settled in that peninsula, observes Groome (in his *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, p. xx); and the same statement is also made by Bataillard and others. Apparently no attempt has been hitherto made to localise and describe the sites so named. The following information, although of a general character, is therefore very welcome. It is supplied by my friend Mr. Stanley Casson, of Lincoln College, Oxford, who made inquiry into this subject during his recent archæological tour in Greece.

DAVID MACRITCHIE.

34 Oakley Crescent, Chelsea,
London, S.W., Oct. 23, 1913.

Dear Mr. MacRitchie,—Early in the year you wrote to me to ask if I could get you any particulars of sites called 'Gyphestro' in Greece.

I have been back now a little time, and take this opportunity of answering your query.

The name is by no means so common as one is led to suppose by literary authorities. Although I went all over Greece from the Argolid to Salonika I did not actually pass through any village or site of that name. Similarly I visited Melos and Syra in the Cyclades and Crete, and came across no instances there.

I am afraid, therefore, that I can give you no first-hand account. But I understand from a friend of mine at the British School at Athens, who has specialised in Byzantine things that the name is not uncommon in Asia Minor, and that it does occur in Greece in some places, but that there does not seem to be any particular type of place to which it is given. He was under the impression that it was usually associated with the sites upon which the nomad Vlachs establish their settlements in the summer.

The village on the site of the ancient Eleutheræ on the borders of Attica is called Gyphtokastro. It is spelt Γυπτοκαστρο, but πτ in modern Greek is invariably pronounced as if it were φτ by the lower classes. Those who have been to the site of Eleutheræ tell me that there is nothing peculiarly distinctive about it, but it is on a flat depression in the hills near Kithæron, and all other Gyphtokastros appear also to be in high places.

I find there is a valuable reference in Wordsworth's *Athens and Attica*, 2nd ed., 1837, p. 43. Perhaps you know it, but I send it in case you do not. He mentions the name Γυπτοκαστρο and says that it 'is now applied in Greece to a ruined and inhabited fortress,' and he mentions also the term 'Οβριό-Καστρο, as being the modern name of Rhamants, and understands 'Οβριό to be 'Εβραίο—which I do not think is in any way proved.

I am sorry I could not get you any more satisfactory evidence, but I imagine that the name is to a certain extent becoming extinct.—Yours very sincerely,

STANLEY CASSON.

23.—A GYPSY WOMAN PREACHER

The answer to Dr. Axon's query (*J. G. L. S.*, vol. vi. p. 80) is in Groome's *In Gypsy Tents*, page 274: 'There is Wester Lee's sister preaches.' Mrs. Lee, with Mrs. Carey, Mr. and Mrs. Eastwood, Mrs. Hedges, the three Gypsy brothers Smith, 'and a few others who have not laboured without some success,' are mentioned in George Smith's *Gipsy Life* (London, 1880), p. 233.

ALEX. RUSSELL.

24.—ARD, 'EARTH'

'*Stifo*, in *stifo-dad*, "father-in-law," of Anglo-Romanes, one readily refers to German *stief*-, because one knows that the forefathers of our Gipsies reached England by way of Germany; but none would identify *ard*, "earth," of Syrian and Egyptian Romanes, with German *erde*.'—Groome: *In Gipsy Tents*, page 167. It is perhaps worth while pointing out that *ard* is not Romani at all, but is the ordinary Arabic word for 'the earth.'

ALEX. RUSSELL.

25.—'A GOOD OLD GYPSY YARD'

Has any reader heard this term used for the pedlar mode of measuring a yard from the end of the outstretched arm to the tip of the nose? I hear of it as being known round Hull, and also round Stratford, E.C. Is it common elsewhere?

D. F. DE L'H. RANKING.

26.—GYPSY MUSIC

So little has appeared in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* about Gypsy music, that it may be worth while to reprint from W. B. Forster-Bovill's *Hungary and the Hungarians* (London, 1908, pp. 213-221) the following enthusiastic passage.

ALEX. RUSSELL.

In the fourteenth century the most conspicuous executants of Hungarian dance-music were the wandering gipsies. Then as now they were patronised by the people, willingly entertained at the Court of the Magnates. Not only were they in demand for festivities, but sometimes they were found at the sessions of Parliament, and history attests their presence at the noisy assemblies of Rákös and Hatvan in 1525. Dominik Kármán was a most conspicuous figure as a lutist and violinist. There was also Michael Barna. Johann Bihary followed in the wake of these distinguished executants. He and his entire band were invited more than once to the Court balls at Vienna. So popular was he, that he gave concerts throughout Hungary, Transylvania, Poland, and Austria. On one occasion the great and incomparable Beethoven was present when Bihary and his band were giving a concert, and was much taken by a slow Hungarian melody of Bihary's, so much so, that in his overture dedicated to King Stephen, the master musician incorporated the melody. This was a token of genuine appreciation. The gipsy musicians also did much to spread and make known Hungarian music. Liszt says: 'There is no other music from which Europeans can learn so much rhythmic originality as the Hungarians.' During the forties of the nineteenth century the *Csárdás* (pronounced *chardahsh*), or Tavern dance, arose. It is a real native dance, a dance of temperament. It is terrible in its might, entrancing in its subtlety, intoxicating and cosmopolitan. In the middle of it you sigh for the cool mountain air, and pine for the blessed silence of the trees; yet avoid it you cannot. The music steals over the senses and awakens memories of a past, bitter or sweet; it is so infectious and so reminiscent, that though it may pain you you are enchained by it. You ask yourself what it is like, of what does it remind you, but in your feebleness you are lost for ideas and words. You roll, you race, you swing, you are giddy, you fall. The bows of the performers chase the notes weirdly over the strings of their instruments, they tremble and fall in confusion, only to start again yet even faster. There is a pause! The scene is changed, though the partner remains the same. The movement is rhythmically measured, cautiously slow. I call it the thoughtful movement. But ere thought has been restored the final scamper begins, and amid the utmost confusion the *Csárdás* ends amid a terrific

crescendo. We English have not the physical capacity, nor the essential temperament for such a dance. Yes, it is a dance of temperament. It is a story on strings that impels both peasant and proprietor. You may detect the silencing of the voice of sorrow, the removal of mental discomfort, as with eyes aflame and mind alert, the dancers whirl their partners round, gathering fresh inspiration as the story develops in the mind of the leader of the band. Patriotism is traced in every note, and with national temperament awakened all things become possible. The voice of national hope cries out that the Magyars are allies, and not a vanquished people; and it is a voice continually heeded from one end of Hungary to the other. Even listeners to the band will awaken all these feelings. It is a species of musical hypnotism. It is a microbe one swallows. Brahms has based all his gipsy songs on Hungarian melodies, and whilst he enters thoroughly into the spirit of the national music, he does so without sinking his nationality. He owed much to his association with Reményi. This violinist introduced to Brahms the real gipsy music, which later he presented in a form attractive to musicians, both amateur and professional, of all nations. The romantic side of his nature was deeply imbued with the Hungarian spirit. And a modern critic has stated that 'the style and musical idiom of Hungarian national melodies constantly appear in his works in classical form.' But those with any knowledge of gipsy music will immediately detect the difference between Brahms and the gipsy.

Returning to the *Csárdás*, one must see the peasants dance this. It is a curious dance, for the men only seem to use the legs from the knees downwards, the rest of the body being upright and rigid. They place their hands lightly upon the shoulders of the women, who in turn rest their hands upon the shoulders of the men. The women only appear to dance with the shoulders. But in their costumes they are a canvas. The men wear tight-fitting *attilas*, which is a sort of vest, with an embroidered dolman hanging from the left shoulder, and whilst dancing they delight in clattering the spurs attached to their top-boots. In their embroidered corsets and short petticoats and top-boots the women look very gay. But these gipsies they are wonders. In quality their bands vary considerably. It is largely a question of conductor. Every coffee-house in Budapest has its famous conductor. Berkes, Radics, Rácz, and Farkas. These are names to be remembered. The band at the New York Hotel, Kolozsvár, is the best I heard in Hungary. An amusing story of this band was told me the last time I visited Kolozsvár. All these bands are allowed even in the best hotels to go and collect from the guests present. Sometimes the conductor himself deigns to go round. Or the second fiddle being easily spared, collects the coins which you place upon a plate, which on his return is emptied into some large receptacle for the sharing-time! In order to prevent any petty pilfering during his perambulations, the gipsy is presented with a live fly, which he must return alive in the same hand to the conductor when he has finished his round. Not an easy task. The alertness and cleverness of these musicians was demonstrated one day to the waltz-king, Strauss. He was practising a new composition, which was still in MSS., with his famous orchestra, when a gipsy leader happened to be present at the rehearsal. Apparently unconcerned, the man took in everything, and that very evening, when Strauss was sitting with some friends at one of the famous Viennese restaurants, to his surprise he heard his new creation played to perfection by this gipsy band. It was a perfect marvel to him, and revealed the amazing power of rapid absorption these men possess. I remember being asked to sing—for some reason or other—away in the north of Hungary, and having no music with me, and wishful to oblige, I just hummed the air of 'Father O'Flynn' to the gipsy leader, and in less than five minutes we had the whole thing going at fine speed. If one must find fault, it is that they play too loud. It sometimes annoys both the musical and the unmusical soul. But the Hungarians love noise, and it is only we foreigners who complain. A young Frenchman who was visiting me found it a constant source of amusement. On the

other hand, I know scores who shun any place with gipsy music. The chief complaint is its monotony. Personally it is the little that I enjoy. One friend described the music as a continued intoning of the national anthem. He was nearer the truth than he imagined.

If there is but one attentive soul in the room, the gipsy can play. Seated in the company perhaps is a friendly soul from some distant village or town, and in the words of Vörösmarty he says—

‘Come, gipsy, play : thou hadst thy pay in drinks,
 Let not the grass grow under thee, strike up !
 On bread and water who will bear life's ills ?
 With flowing wine fill high the parting cup.
 This mundane life remains for aye the same,
 It freezeth now, then burneth as a flame ;
 Strike up ! How long thou yet wilt play who knows ?
 Thy bow-strings soon will wear out, I suppose.
 With wine and gloom are filled the cup and heart,
 Come, gipsy, play, let all thy cares depart.

‘Strike up ! But no—now leave the chords alone ;
 When once again the world may have a feast,
 And silent have become the storm's deep groans,
 And wars and strifes o'er all the world have ceased
 Then play inspiringly ; and, at the voice
 Of thy sweet strings, the gods may e'en rejoice !
 Then take again in hand the songful bow,
 Then may thy brow again with gladness glow,
 And with the wine of joy fill up thy heart ;
 Then, gipsy, play, and all thy cares depart.’

As a chaser of gloom and an evangel to sad men the gipsy is unequalled. The appealing notes of his violin strike deeply and exceeding sure. He has a song for every mood, a balm for every ill. The genuine gipsy is incomparable. Sitting one evening with Kubelik at supper at the Hotel Hungaria, Budapest, I was anxious to note the effect the gipsy music would have upon him. Something seemed to speak to his great musical soul when they played their national music, but when they emerged into internationalism or penetrated the classics the eye lost its glow, and conversation was possible. As he told me afterwards, when they play their own music they are wonderful, but when they do not they are impossible. There's an illusion I should like to dissipate, that is concerning the knowledge of music possessed by a *czigány*. It is not true to say the real *czigány* does not know a note of music. If you say he does not need it, that is another question. But a few evenings before I wrote this chapter I was seated with a friend in one of the largest coffee-houses in Budapest. Whilst there a young friend arrived with full band parts of a new march, and I saw them handed out to the band, and heard them play it all over to a crowded house. This in itself was a wonderful performance, but with notes. The amount of money that these men make sometimes is enormous. I remember a middle-aged Greek taking some of his relatives to a coffee-house after supper, and so great was the effect of the music upon him that he gave the conductor a 1000-crown note. It has never been my personal ambition to give much to these dark-skinned musicians, but I have seen hundreds of crowns pass hands. One evening in a gay haunt a crowd of irresponsible nobility were amusing themselves. The central figure of the group was an old, noble-looking veteran, to whom all the variations of gipsy music were familiar. When jollity had passed the frontier lines, and man had entered that

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strange land where thought and fear are unknown, I noticed the old man draw from his pocket a 1000-crown note, gaze at it a moment, not at all thoughtfully, then deliberately tear it in halves, and hand one half to the *czigány primás*. To me it appeared a wild freak and absolutely devoid of generosity. The psychology of the act I could not arrive at. Waiting thus a moment, pondering over things, I saw the old man moisten the remaining half with his mouth, then plaster it upon his forehead. Hypnotism or madness, which? Mine was a Western soul with no Eastern culture about it, and I understood it not. So I waited until the bitter end. Steadily the *primás* advanced towards the group. There was something of the panther's stealth in that movement. His eyes were aflame, his body swayed, and a spell had also fallen upon the band. It was great, and I too began to feel the atmosphere created by the man and his music. Then the group he played to swayed like a cornfield in full ear before the summer wind. Passion, patriotism, and power, all of them almost satanic. Then I realised dimly the truth of the stories I had heard of men giving up everything they possessed to gipsies. Native power. Love, pain, rapture, every nerve set tingling. The *primás* now played into the old man's ear. Now beseeching and entreating, now gay and intoxicating, halting a moment to find some deep responsive chord, then lingering and trembling until it dies out with a sweet plaintive sigh. The tears begin to fall, music and wine have conquered. It is a new man, alive, alert, enthusiastic; past defeats, sorrows, aches, are all forgotten, he sees and feels but the bright promise of to-morrow, having been led through the dark valley of humiliation and tears by the gipsy. Herein lies their greatness. A moment later the remaining half of the note rests quietly in the gipsy's palm. To hear them play the latest comic opera score is nothing, but to hear them play the hillside minstrel songs is to obtain a glimpse of national character otherwise obscured by modern conventionality. When nothing is stirring in the political firmament, and the stars move orderly in their courses, these men play much that is international, but the moment a grave crisis looms and national feeling rises, then the gipsy, like the allegorical poets of old, appeals to the heart of the nation with a series of pictures pregnant with power. National spirit can never die when such as this is possible. It is small wonder that the Countess Festetics married Nyári Rudi, the *primás*. She is Hungarian, and he is a master among gipsies.

27.—HANOTAUX ON GYPSIES

Chapter IV. of *La Fleur des Histories Françaises*, by Gabriel Hanotaux de L'Académie Française (Hachette et C^{ie}, 1911), is entitled 'Les Hommes de France.' It contains a few pages on the Gypsies, but nothing new, being only a popular statement of Bataillard's Bronze-Age theory. ALEX. RUSSELL.

16th Nov. 1913.

EDITORIAL.—Owing to the disturbed state of Europe 'The Dialect of the Drindaris' has not had the author's final revision.

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G. = Gypsy. Gs. = Gypsies.

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NOTICES.

I.—REPORT.

I HAVE the honour to announce that my successor in the Presidency of the Gypsy Lore Society is

LADY ARTHUR GROSVENOR,

a choice which cannot but be popular. Her Ladyship was the first person to join the Society when it was revived in 1907, and is well known to the members, not only from her important contributions to Anglo-Romani lexicography in the discovery of Whiter's and Norwood's vocabularies, but also as an enthusiastic exponent of caravan life and a true and generous friend of the Gypsies themselves, an eloquent defence of whom her Ladyship has recently published as preface to the Rev. H. H. Malleson's *Napoleon Boswell*.

It is to be regretted that, in spite of Mr. E. O. Winstedt's great kindness in supervising as locum tenens all matters that could not be postponed, the Hon. Secretary's long absence in the Near East has thrown the affairs of the Society into arrears. Abundance of copy awaiting publication gives good hope, however, that it will soon be possible to recover the time lost.

During the past year, Professor R. A. S. Macalister has completed in our Journal his thorough study of the language of the Nawar; new and important information has been added by Mr. H. L. Williams to our meagre knowledge of Indian 'Gypsies'; Mr. B. Gilliat-Smith has both continued his admirable series of Bulgarian Gypsy Folk-Tales and published a specimen of a new dialect, that of the Zagundžis; and a beginning has been made in dealing with the material collected from the nomad Gypsy coppersmiths who invaded Great Britain in the summer of 1911. The exacting work which this last task involves is in the able hands of the Rev. F. G. Ackerley and Mr. E. O. Winstedt, who, with Dr. Archibald Constable and the Hon. Secretary, practically form an editorial committee.

The statistics of membership are as follows:—

	<i>Libraries, etc.</i>	<i>Individuals.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
At the end of 1911-12, ...	64	134	198
Losses, ...	2	8	10
Accessions, ...	...	5	5
At the end of 1912-13, ...	62	131	193

I regret to record the death of Mr. Walter L. Behrens, a member of the Society.

The coming year, 1913-14, will see the issue of Dr. George F. Black's

Gypsy Bibliography, the first of a series of Extra Publications. Since a good bibliography is a necessary prelude to the exact study of any subject, the great expense of this publication could not legitimately be evaded by the Gypsy Lore Society. Members are therefore specially requested to make an effort to increase during the year the number of our subscribers. For this purpose a copy of a new prospectus is enclosed which sets forth both the aims of the Society and its accomplishments in the past. Additional copies can be obtained by application to the Hon. Secretary.

ERNST KUHN.

II.—INDEX TO THE SIXTH VOLUME.

The present number is the first of the seventh volume of the New Series of the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*. The Index to the sixth volume, for which members have again to thank the industry and skill of Mr. Alexander Russell, is in the press, and, with the title-page and preliminary matter, will be issued as soon as possible. Thanks, too, to Mr. Russell's kindness, it will be accompanied by an index to the three volumes (1888-1892) of the Old Series of the Journal.

III.—SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Members are reminded that subscriptions for the year 1913-14 (ending June 30, 1914) were payable on July 1 last. Those who have not yet sent them are requested to remit the amount (one pound) to the Hon. Secretary as soon as may be convenient.

IV.—THE GYPSY AND FOLK-LORE CLUB.

The Gypsy and Folk-Lore Club has thought fit to prosecute the printer of this journal and the Hon. Secretary of the G.L.S. for libels alleged to appear on pages 145 and 331 of Volume VI. In consequence the Hon. Secretary would be greatly obliged if those who have had experience of the methods of the G. and F.-L. Club would send him such additional information as may be useful to the solicitors for the defence.

JAN 3 1914

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NEW SERIES

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